

A 25866  
COMPENDIOUS OF BRIEFE  
EXAMINATION  
OF

Certayne ordinary COMPLAINTS  
of diuers of our COUNTRY-  
MEN in these our Dayes :

Which although they are in some Parte  
vnjust and friuolous, yet are they  
all, by Way of DIALOGUE,  
throughly debated and  
discussed by

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,  
Gentleman.



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EXAMINATION



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J. Sturges



T O T H E  
K I N G.

*May it please Your MAJESTY,*

**T**HIS Treatise of *English Policy*. was composed by the most extensive and fertile Genius that ever any Age or Nation produced, the inimitable *Shakespeare*. The Work itself is of the Dramatic Kind, and the Characters are distinguished and sustained throughout by the Sentiments peculiar to the Speakers, who as in a Mirrour give the present Age a Retrospect of the past. How this Performance was valued by the Author appears by his addressing it to the Most Illustrious Potentate then in the World, the great *Elizabeth*. And as we trust it is nothing impaired in Worth, by lying in Obscurity near two Centuries; we humbly crave Permission to shelter it

the Patronage of the best of Kings: A Monarch who is the Sacred Guardian of the happy Constitution first established by that renowned Princess. And that Your MAJESTY's auspicious Reign may continue to bless Your People, and give Lustre to the *British* Throne to an Extent of Years, even beyond those enjoyed by that happy Queen, is the ardent Prayer of

*Your* MAJESTY'S

*Most Faithful,*

*Most Obedient,*

*and Humble Subjects,*

The EDITORS.



T O T H E

Most Vertuous and learned LADY, my most  
deare and Soueraigne Princeesse,

**E L I Z A B E T H,**

By the Grace of GOD, Queene of England, Fraunce  
and Ireland, Defendresse of the Fayth. &c.

**W**HEREAS there was neuer anye thinge hearde  
of in any age past better unto, so perfectly wrought  
and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that  
it hath at some time, for some forged and sur-  
mised matter, sustayned the reprobation of some enuious per-  
sons or other: I do not much meruayle, Most Mighty Pryncestesse,  
that in this your so noble and famous a gouernment, (the glory  
whereof is now long sithence scattered and spread ouer the  
whole face of the Earth) there are notwithstanding certayne  
euill disposed people, so blinded with malice, and subdued to  
their owne parciall conceiptes; that as yet they can neyther  
spare indifferent iudgements to conceyue, or reverent tongues to  
reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the same.  
But for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted  
by the testimonies of their own consciences: so are they most  
certaynly condemned by the common consent of all such, as are  
wise or indifferent. And although this be of itselfe so cleare  
and manyfest, that it cannot be denied, yet could not I forbear  
(most renowned Soueraigne) being, as it were, inforced by your  
Maiesties late and singular clemency, in pardoning certayne my  
vnduetifull misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gra-  
cious goodnesse and bounty towards me, by exhibiting unto you  
this small and simple present: wherein, as I haue indeuoured  
in few wordes to aunswere certayne quarrels and obiections,

A 2

dayly



## The EPISTLE.

dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation thereof: protesting also with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the discourse of these matters heere disputed, to define ought, which may in any wise sounde preiudiciall to any public authority, but only to alleadge such probability as I coulde, to stop the mouthes of certayne euill affected persons, which of their curiosity require farther satisfaction in these matters, then can well stand with good modesty. Wherefore as, upon this zeale and good meaning towards your estate, I was earnestly moued to vndertake this enterpryse, and in the handling thereof rather content to shewe myself vnskilful to others, then vntthankfull to you: so presuminge of your auncient accustomed clemency, I was so bould to commit the same to your gracious protection, fully perswading and assuring myself, that it would generally obtayne the better credit and entertainment among others, if your Maiesties name were prefixed, as it were a most rich Iewell and rare Ornament, to beautifie and commend the same. God preserue your Maiesty with infinite increase of all his blessings bestowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyond the ordinary course of nature: that as you haue already sufficiently raygned for your owne honour and glory to last withall posterities: so you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may so be) of vs your louing subiects, and to the perfect establishing of this flourishing peace and tranquillity in your Commonweale for euer.

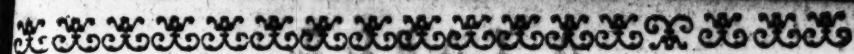
Your MAIESTIES

most faythfull and

louing Subject,

W. SHAKESPEARE.

A



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## A BRIEFE



A BRIEFE  
CONCEIPTE

Touching the

COMMON WEALE  
OF THIS  
REALME of *ENGLAND.*



CONSIDERING the diuerse and  
sondry complaints of our countrie-  
men in these our daies, touching the  
great alteration of this Common-  
wealth, within the compasse of these  
few yeres lately past: I thought  
good at this time to set downe such probable dis-  
course for the occasion hereof, as I have hearde  
oftentimes uttered by men of sounde learning and  
deepe judgement. And albeit I am not one to  
whom the consideration and reformation of the  
same doth especially belong: yet knowing  
myselfe to bee a member of the same Common-  
weale, and to further it by all the wayes that pos-  
sibly I may: I cannot reckon and account myselfe  
a meere straunger to this matter, no more than a  
man that were in a shippe, which being in daun-  
ger of wracke might say, that, because he is not  
(percase) the maister or pylate of the same, the  
daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to  
him.

No man is a  
straunger to  
the Com-  
mon-weal  
he is in.



*A Briefe Conceipte*

him. Therefore hauinge nowe suffycient leasure from other businesse, mee thought, I could not apply my study to a better end then to publish and make relation of such matters as I haue heard thoroughly disputed herein.

First, what thinges men are most griued with, than, what should be the occasion of the same: and that knowne how such greues may bee taken away, and the state of the Commonweale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well say, that there be men of greater wittes then I that haue that matter in charge, yet fooles (as the prouerbe is) sometimes speake to the purpose: and as many heads, so many wittes, and therefore prynces, though they bee neuer so wyse themselues, (as our most excellent prynce is) yet the wiser that they bee, the moe counsellors they wil haue, (as our noble and gracious queene doth daily make choyse of more) for that, that one cannot perceave, another doth discouer: the gistes of wittes be so diuerse, that some excelles in memory, some in inuention, some in iudgement, some at the first sight ready, and some after long consideration: and though each of these by them selues do not seuerally make perfit the matter, yet when every man bryngs in his gyfte, a mean witted man may of all these (the best of every mans deuise being gathered together) make as it were a pleasaunt and perfect garlonde to adorne and decke hys head with all. Therefore I would not only have learned men, whose judgements I would wyshe to be chiefly esteemed herein, but also marchaunt men, husbandmen, and artificers, which in their callinges are taken wyse, freely suffered, yea, and prouoked to tell their aduyces in this matter. For some poyntes in their feates, they may disclose, that the wysest in a realme cannot unfoulde againe. And it is a maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infaylable verity among all men, that every man is to be credited in that arte he is most exercysed in.

For

Of many  
heades is gathered a perfect counsell.

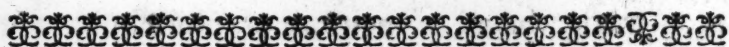
For did not Apelles that excellent paynter consider, that whan he layde forth his fyne image of Venus to be seene of euery man that past by, to the intent he hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne arte might alwayes amend that was amysse in his worke, whose censures he allowed so longe as they kept them within their owne faculties, and tooke not uppon them to meddle with an other mans arte: so percase I may be aunswered as he was, yet I refuse not that, if I passe my compasse: but for as much as most of this matter containeth pollicy, or good gouernment of a Common-weale, being a member of philosophy morale; wherein I haue somewhat studyed, I shall bee so bold with my countrey men, who I doubt not will construe euery thinge to the best, as to utter my poore and simple conceipte herein, which I haue gathered out of the talk of diuerse and sundry notable men that I haue hearde reason on this matter: and though I should herein percase moue some thinges that openlye not to bee touched, as in such cases of disceptacion is requisite, yet hauinge respect to what ende they bee spoken, I truste they can offend no man, for harde were it to heale a soare that a man woulde not have opened to his physition, nor yet a surfet that a man woulde not declare the occasion thereof. Therefore now to goe to the matter, uppon boldnesse of your good acceptacion, that kind of reasoning seemeth to mee best for bouldinge out of the truth, which is vsed by waye of dialogues, or colloquyes, where reasons be made too and froe, as well for the matter intended as against it: I thought best to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is, first in recounting the common and vniuersall grieues that men complayne on now a dayes, secondly in bouldinge oute the verry causes and occasions of them, thirdlye and finally in deuising of remedies for al the same: Therefore I will declare

That every man is to be credited in his owne arte.

Why the booke is made by way of dialogue.

The summe of the whole booke.

unto you what communication a knight had betweene him and certayne other persons of late about this matter, which because it happened betweene such persons, as were members of euery state that find themselves griued now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten, to let you understand that the persons were these, a knight, as I sayde first, a marchaunt man, a doctor, a husband man, and craftes man. And first, the knight rehearsed the communication in this manner ensuing.



### The first DIALOGUE.

Knight.

**A**FTER I and my fellowes, the iustices of peace of this cominalty, had the other day declared the queenes highnes commission, touching diuers matters, and geuen the charge to the enquest; I being both weary of the heate of the people, and noyse of the same, thought to steale to a friendes house of myne in the towne, which felles wyne, to the intent to eat a morsell of meate, for I was then fasting, taking with me an honest husbandman, whom for his honesty and good discretion, I loued very wel: whether as we were comme, and had but skant sit down in a close parloure, there comes me in a marchaunte man of that city, a man of estimation and substaunce, and requires the sayd husbandman to goe and dyne with him; nay, (quoth I) he will not, I trust, now forsake my company, though he should fare better with you.

Marchaunt.

Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will send home for a pasty of venison that I haue there, and for a friend of mine and a neighbor that I bid to dinner, and we shal be so bolde as to make merry with all heere in your company, and as for my guesst, hee is no straunger unto you neyther. And



And therefore both he of youres, and you of his company, I trust will be the gladder.

Who is it?

Knight.

Doctor Pandotheus.

Marchaunt.

Is he so, on my fayth he shall be heartely welcome, for of him we shal haue some good communication and wise, for he is noted a learned and a wise man. And immediately the marchaunt sendes for him, and he comes unto us, and bryngeth wyth him an honest man a capper of the same towne who came to speake with the sayd merchant, than after salutations had (as yee knowe the manner is) betweene me and maister doctor, and renewing of old acquayntance which had bene long before betweene us, we sat all downe, and when we had eate somewhat to satisfy the sharpnesse of our stomackes.

Knight.

On my fayth (quoth the doctor) to me, yee make much adoe, you that bee justices of the peace of every country, in sitting upon commissions almost weekly, and in causing poor men to appear before you and leauing theyr husbandry unlookte to at home.

Doctor.

Surely it is so: yet the prince must be serued and the commonweale, for God and the prince have not sent us the poore lyuings that we haue, but to doe service therefore abroad amonges our neighbours.

Knight.

It is well if yee take it so, for nature hath graffed that persuation in you and all other that followes the cleare light of nature. As learned men haue remembred, saying, we be not borne only to our selves, but partely to the use of our country, of our parents, of our kinsfolkes, and partly of our friendes and neighbours, and therefore all good vertues are graffed in us naturally, whose effects be to doe good to other, wherein we shewe forth the image of God in man, whose property is euer to do good to other, and to distribute his goodness abroad lyke no nygarde, nor enuyous of any other

Doctor.

Plato.  
Cicero.

That men  
are not borne  
to them-  
selves onely.

other creatures. As they resemble nothing of that godly image, so they study no common utility of other, but onely the conseruation of them selves and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, it we looke to be reckned most unlyke them being most vyle, and lykest to God being most excellent, let us study to doe good to other, not preferring the ease of this carkasse which is like the brute beastes, but rather the vertues of the minde wherein we be lyke God him selfe.

Husband.

Then (sayd the husbandman) for all your paynes (meaning by me) and all ours also, I would yee had never worse commissions in hande than this is. So we had lost more dayes workes at our husbandry than this.

Knight.

Why so?

Husband.

Mary for these inclosures doe undoe us all, for they make us to pay dearer for our land that we occupy, and causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to tyllage, all is taken vp for pasture: for pasture eyther for sheepe, or for grasing of cattell, in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes within lesse compasse than sixt myles about mee, layde downe within this seven yeares: and where threescore persons or vpward had their livings, now one man with his cattel hath all, which thinge is not the least cause of former vprores: for by these inclosures many doe lacke lyuings and be ydle, and therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a change being in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that howe so ever it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before: more ouer all things are so deere that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

I haue well the experience thereof, for I am faine to geue my journeimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently liue thereon. And I know for truth, that the best husbände of them

Complaynt  
of inclosures  
by husband-  
men.

Complaynt  
of dearth of  
vittayle by  
artificers.

can

can faue but little at the yeares ende, and by reason of such derth as yee speake of we that are artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no prentizes like as we were wont to doe, and therefore cities which were heretofore well inhabyted and wealthy, (as yee know euery one of you) are now for lacke of occupiers fallen to great pouerty and desolation.

So be the most parte of all the townes of *England*, *London* onely except, and not only the good townes are sore decayed in their howses, walles, streates, and other buildings, but also the countrey in their highwayes and brydges, for such pouerty raygneth every where, that few men haue so much to spare as they may geue any thing to the reparation of such wayes, brydges, and other common easements, and albeit there be many things layde doune now which before time were occasions of much expences, as maygames, wakes, reuels, wages at shootinge, wrestling, running, throwing the stone, or barre, and besides that, pardons, pilgrimages, offrings, and many such other thinges, yet I perceyue we be neuer the wealthier, but rather poorer: whereof it is long I cannot well tell, for ther is such a general dearth of all things as before xx. or xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of things growing within this realme, but also of all other marchaundize that we buy from beyond the sea, as sylkes, wyne, oyles, woode, madder, yron, steele, waxe, flaxe, lynnencloth, fustians, worsteddes, couerlets, carpets, and all hearfes and tapestry, spyces of all sort and all haberdasher ware, as paper both white and browne, glasse aswell drinckinge, and looking, as for glasinge of windowes, pinnes, needles, kniues, daggers, hats, cappes, broches, buttons, and laces. I wot well all these doe cost nowe more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeares agoe: than all kinde of vittayle are as deere or deerer agayne, and no cause of God's part there-

Marchaunt.

Complaynt of townes by marchauntmen, and of all other common easementes.

Many superfluous charges layde doune and yet neuer the more plenty.

Dearth of outwarde marchaundize.

Dearth of all kinde of vittayle.

of



of as farre as I can perceauē; for I neuer sawe, more plenty of corne, grasse, and cattell of all sorte than we haue at this present, and haue had (as ye know) all these twenty yeares passed continually, thanked bee our Lord God: if these inclosures were cause thereof, or any other thing els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

**Knight.**

That inclosures be not the cause of this dearth.

That gentlemen feelee most grieve by this dearth.

**Husband.**

The complaint of craftes men against gentlemen for taking of farmes.

✓ Synce ye haue plenty of all thinges, of corne, and cattell, (as ye say) then it should not seeme this dearth should belonge of these inclosures, for it is not for scarcenesse of corne that yee haue this dearth (for thanked be God) corne is good cheape, and so hath bene these many yeares past continually. Than it cannot bee the occasion of the dearth of cattel, for inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of any other: yet I confesse there is a wonderfull dearth of all things, and that doe I, and all men of my sorte feelee most grieve in, which haue no way to sell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all three (I meane) you my neyghbour the husbandman, you maister mercer, and you goodman capper, with other artificers may save your selues meetely well. Forasmuch as all thinges are deerer then they were, so much doe you aryse in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee sell agayne: But we haue nothing to sell whereby we might aduance the price thereof, to counterualue those things that we must buy againe.

Yes, yee rayse the price of your landes, and yee take fermes also and pastures to your hands, (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings such as I am) and have geuen ouer to liue only vpon your landes.

On my soule yee say truth (quoth the marchaunte) and the capper also sayd no lesse, adding thereto, that it was neuer merry with poore craftsmen, since gentlemen became grasiers, for they cannot now a dayes (sayd he) finde theyr prentizes and seruantes meate and dryncke, but it  
cost

cost them almost double asmuch as did before time, wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore have dyed rych men, and been able to leaue honestly behynde them for theyr wyfe and children, and besides that leaue some notable bequests for some good deede, as to the making of brydges, and repayring of highwayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now every where. Also some were wont to buy lande eyther for to helpe the poore beginners of the occupations: yea, some time they had such superfluity as they could ouer such bequests, leaue another portion to finde a pryfte, or to found a chauntry in some parish church, and now we are skant able to liue without debt, or to keep few servants or none, except it be one prentize or two. And therefore the journeymen, what of our occupations, and what of clothyers, and all other occupations, being forced to be without worke, are the most parte of these rude people that maketh these vprores abroad, to the great disquiet not onely of the queenes highnes but also of hir people. And neede, as ye knowe hath no boöty.

The craftes-  
mans com-  
playnt that  
he cannot  
set men a  
worke for  
the dearth  
of victayle.

It is true, ye knowe likewise what other notable acts men of myne occupation haue done in this city. Before this yee know the hospitall at the townesende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaued, how it was founded not long agoe by one of our occupation, supposing thereby that the city should be much releaued, which then was in some decay, and yet it decayeth still euery day more and more, whereof it should be longe, I cannot well tell.

Marchaunt,

Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not without cause, so it is as true that I and my sorte, I meane all gentlemen, haue as great, yea and farre greater cause, to complayne, then any of you haue, (for as I sayd) now that the pryces of thinges are so ryfen of all handes you may better lyue after your degree then we, for you may

Knight.

The gentle-  
man's com-  
playnt how  
he cannot  
keepe lyke  
countenance  
as he was  
wont to doe,

and do rayse the pryce of your wares, as the pryses of vittayles, and other your necessities doe ryse, and so cannot we so much, for though it bee true that of such landes as come to handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination and ending of such termes of yeares, or other estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time past. I do either receyue a better fine than of olde was vsed, or enhaunse the rent thereof, being forced thereto for the charge of my housholde, that is so encreased over that it was, yet in all my lyfetye I look not that the thyrd parte of my land shall come to my disposition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the same, but it shall be in mens holding, either by leases or by copy graunted before my time, and still continuing, and yet lyke to continue in the same state for the most part during my lyfe, and percase my sonnes: so as we cannot rayse all our wares as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did, and by reason that we cannot, so many of us (as yee know) that haue departed out of the countrey of late, haue bene driuen to geue ouer our households, and to kepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the court vncalled, with a man and a lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiv. other persons besides every day in the weeke, and such of vs as doe abyde in the countrey still, cannot with two hundreth a yeare, kepe that house that we might haue done with CC. markes but xvi. yeares past. And therefore we are forced either to minishe the third part of our housholde, or to raise the third part of our reuenewes, and for that we cannot so doe of our owne landes that is already in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced either to keepe peeces of our owne lands when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some farme of other mens landes, and to store it with sheepe,

or

Why gentlemen doe geue ouer their households.

Why gentlemen doe take farmes into their handes.



or some other cattel to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to mainetayne our olde estate withall, and yet all is little ynough.

Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues, for they haue driuen husbandry out of the countrey, by the which was increased before all kind of victailes, and now altogether sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there were not only sheepe ynough, but also oxen, kine, swyne, pig, goose and capon, egges, butter and cheese: yea, and breade corne, and malte corne ynough besides, reared all together vpon the same lande.

Husband.

Complaint  
against  
sheepe.

Then the Doctor that had leaned on his elbowe all thys while musing, sat vp and sayd, I perceau by you all three, that there is none of you but haue iust cause to complaine.

Doctor.

No, by my troth, except it be you, men of the church, which trauaile nothing for your lyuinge and yet haue ynough.

Capper.

Yee say troth indeede, we haue least cause to complaine: yet yee know well, we be not so plentifulous as we haue bene, the first fruits and tenths are dedusted of our liuings, yet of the rest we might liue wel ynough, if we might haue quietnes of minde and conscience withall. And albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee say) yet yee know we labour with our mindes, more to the weakeing of the same, then by any other bodily exercise we should do, as yee may wel perceiue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and sikely be our bodyes, and all for lacke of bodily exercise.

Doctor.

The doctors com-  
playnt for  
men of his  
calling.

Mary I woulde, if I were of the queenes counsell, provide for you well a fine, so as you should neede take no disease for lacke of exercise, I would set you to the plough and carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your studies, but set men together by the ears, some with this opinion and some with that, some holding this way, and

Capper.

Complaynt  
against  
learned men.

some another, and that so stiffly as though the troth must be as they say that haue the upper hand in contencion, and this contencion is not also the least cause of former uprores of the people, some holding of the one learning and some of the other. In my minde it made no matter though we had no learned men at all.

Knight.

God forbid, neighbour, that it should be so: how should the prynce haue counsaillors then? how should we haue christian religion taught vs? how should we know the estates of other realmes, and haue conference with them of al countreyes, except it were through learning, and by the benefit of letters?

Doctor.

Care not therefore Goodman Capper, yee shall haue few ynough of learned men within a while if this world hold on.

Capper.

I meane not but I would haue men to learn to wryte and reade, yea and to learne the languages used in countries about vs, that we might write our minds to them and they to vs, yea and that wee might reade the holy scriptures in our mother tongue, and as for your preaching (except yee agree better) it made no matter how little wee had of it, for of dyuersity thereof cometh these diuersities of opinions.

Doctor.

Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the knowledge of tongues, and to wryte and reade, and so it appeares well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes, when men sendes their sonnes to the universities, they suffer them no longer to tary there, then they may haue a little of the Latin tongue, and then they take them away and bestow them to be clarkes with some man of law, or some auditor and receyuer, or to be a secretary with some great man or other, and so to come to a lyving, whereby the universities be in manner emptied, and as I think will be occasion that this realme, within a shorte space, will be made as empty of wyse and pollitique men,

Why learning should be like to decay hereafter.

and

and consequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subiect to other nations whereof we were lordes before.

God forbid that wee that bee gentlemen shoulde not with our pollicy in warre prouide that we come not in subiection of any other nation, and the stoutnesse of Englyshe heartes will neuer suffer that, though there were no learned men in the realme at all.

Knight.

Well, an empyre or a kingdome is not so much won, or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wysedom and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning: for wee see in all kindes of gouernaunce, for the most part, the wyser forte haue the foueraignty over the rude and unlearned, as in euery house the most expert, in every city the wisest and most sage, and in euery common-weale the most learned are most commonly placed to gouern the rest, yea, among all nations of the worlde they that be polytique and cyuile doe mayster the rest, though their forces be inferior to the other. The Empyres of the Greekes and Romaines doe declare that, among whom lyke as learning and wysedom was most esteemed, so the empyres were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And why should you think it straung that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time, that reckoned themselves as stoute men as you be, yea dwellers of this realme, as the Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, and the Brytons by the Romaines first of all.

Doctor.

Whether a common-weale may be well gouerned without learning.

That the learned haue alway the foueraignty ouer the unlearned.

There may bee wyse men ynough though they bee not learned. I have known diuerse men very wise and politike that know neuer a letter on the booke, and contrarywise as many other learned men that haue been very ideots in manner for any worldly policy that they had.

Knight.

I deny



Doctor.

Whether a  
man may be  
wyse with-  
out learning.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wyse men as yee speak of had learninge to their wits, they had been more excellent. And the other that yee call so simple had bene foolyshe if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyse in warres maketh not euery man meete to bee a captayne, though hee trauayle in it neuer so longe, nor there is no other so apt for the warre but with experience and vse he is made more perfit, for what maketh old men commonly more wise than the younger sort, but their greater experience?

Knight.

Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men I confesse. But what doth learning thereto?

Doctor.

That learn-  
ing supplieth  
the lacke of  
experience,  
and that ex-  
perience is  
the father of  
wyse dome.

If yee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubt not but yee will graunt mee anone that learninge doth also help much to the increase of wisdome: let that then be set for a sure grounde that experience doth further wisdome, and take it as it were the father of wisdome, and memory to be the mother. For like as experience doth beget wisdome as a father, so memory nourisheth it as a mother, for in vayne should experience be had if the same were not kept in remembrance. Then if I can shew you that both experience and also memory are holpen and furthered by learning, then yee must needs graunt mee that learning furthers wit and increaseth it, yee confesse the experience of an old man maketh him wiser than the younge, because he saw mo things then the other. But an old man seeth but only things of his own time, and the learned man seeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that befell in a great many of his auncestors, yea since the worlde began. Wherefore he must needes haue more experience then the unlearned man, of what great age soeuer he be, then so many cases as hee seeth in all that time to haue hapned could not so well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wrytings, and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee saye, hee neuer

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lightly remembers it againe, whereas the learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembrance of that hee should els forget. Therefore as he that lyueth a hundreth yeare must needes haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty, so hee that seeth the chaunces of the world, as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thousand yeres, must needes haue greater experience then he that liveth but a hundreth. Also he that trauaileth many farre countryes hath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his natieue country. So he that is learned seeth by cosmography, hystories, and other learnings, the right manner and vsage of euery countrey in the world, yea of many moe then is possible for one man to trauayle through, and of these that he trauayleth, much better doth hee learne by small tarying, then the other (by longer experience) that are alltogether and wholly unlearned, and consequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent, and now I am forced to consider the maruaylous gyftes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning supplyeth unto man the greatest lack that some wryters haue complayned of to bee in mankinde, that is the breuity of age, the grossenes and waight of body: where in the first, diuers beastes, as hartes and many other, and in the last all byrdes do excell man, for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a hundreth yeares or thereabouts: by the benefit of learning he hath the commodity of the life of a thousand yeres, yea two or three thousand, by reason he seeth the euent and occurrents of all that time by bookes. And if he should haue lyued himselfe by all that space, then could he haue had nothinge els to his commodity but that experience of things, the rest had ben but trauayle: which experience he hath now by letters, without any trauaile in manner at all, and without the dangers that hee might himselfe haue bene in, if he

The wonderful gyftes that we haue by learning.

he had liued by all that space. As to the other poynte, that we be not so agill and light as fowles and byrdes of the ayre be of, as that we might sturre from one place to another, wee have the commodity, through learning, that we should purchase by such peregrinations, as well as wee should if wee might flee from one countrey to another like byrdes, and yet with lesse trauayle and daunger. May wee not, through cosmography, see the situation, temperature, and qualities of euery countrey in the worlde, yea better and with lesse trauayle then if we might flee ouer them ourselues: for that, that many other haue learned through their great trauayles, and daungers, they haue left to vs to be learned with ease and pleasure. Can we not also throughe the science of astronomy knowe the course of the planettes aboue, and their coniunctions and aspectes as certaynely as if wee were amonge them; yea surely that we may: for tell me, how came all the learned men heretofore to the exacte and perfit knowledge thereof? Came they not to it by conference, and marking of circumstances (yes in deade) so that out of their writings we learned it? and to the knowledge whereof, by sight only, we could neuer attayne, though we were as agile as any byrde?

That there  
is no faculty  
but is made  
more perfect  
by learning.

What is there els profitable or necessary for the coniunct of mans lyfe heere in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleat than any man can learne only by experience all dayes of his lyfe, no not so much as your feate in warre syr knight, no nor your feate good husbandman, but that either of them are so exactly taught and set forth in learninge, that neither of you both, though you be never so perfect in the said feates, but might learne many poynts moe than euer yee saw before, by experience in either of them, as you sir knight in Vigetius, and you good Husbandman in Columella.

I say



I say agayne, might wee not haue that in our Englysh tongue, and reade them ouer, though we neuer went to schole. Knight.

Yea well ynough, and yet shoulde yee be farre from the perfect understanding of them, except yee had the help of other sciences, that is to say, of arithmatique, in disposing and ordering your men, and geometry, in deuising of Ingens to wyne townes, and fortrasses, and of brydges to passe ouer, in the which Cæsar excelled other by reason of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and did wonderful feates, which an unlearned man coulde neuer haue done; and if yee had warre ouer the sea, how coulde yee knowe towards what coastes yee bee sea dryuen, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the pole, and the length by other starres; and you, good husband, for the perfection of the knowledge of husbandry, had neede of some knowledge in astronomy, as vnder what aspect of the planets, and in the entry of what signe by the sunne and moone it is time to eare, to dounge, to sowe, to reape, to set, to grasse, to cut your wood, your timber; yea, to haue some iudgment of the weather that is lyke to come for inning of your corne and grasse, and houseinge of your cattell; yea, of some part of phisick called *Veterimaria*, whereby yee might knowe the dizeases of your beastes, and heale them. Then for true measuring of lande, had yee not neede of some knowledge in geometry, to bee a perfit husband? Then for building, what carpenter or mazon is so cunning or expert, but hee might learn more by readinge of Vitruvius, and other wryters of Architecture, that is to say, the science of building, and to passe ouer the sciences of logicke and rhetorique, whereof the first traualyeth about the discusion of the true reason from the false, the other about the perswasion of that is to be set forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedi-

Doctor.

How Cæsar excelled all other captaines, by reason of his great learning ioyned with his prowesse.

That know-  
ledge in mo-  
ral philoso-  
phy is most  
necessary for  
a counsaillor.

Plato.

Knight.

Doctor.

ent, whereof a good and perfit counsaillor might want neither? Well, tell me what counsaile can be perfit, what Commonweale can be well ordered vpright, where none of the rulers or counsaillors haue studied any philosophy, specially the parte that teacheth of manners (the other parte of philosophy I passe ouer now, which teacheth of natures, and is called phisick)? What parte of the Commonweale is neglected by philosophy morall? Doth it not teach, first, how euery man should gouerne himselfe honestly? Secondly, how he should guide his family wisely and profitably. And, thirdly, it sheweth how a city or a realme, or any other Commonweale should be well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and also warre. What Commonweale can be without either a gouerner or counsaillors, that should bee expert in thys kind of learning? This confirmeth the poynt that we now talke of. If men expert in this science were consulted, and followed, the Commonweale shoulde bee ordered as fewe should haue cause to complaine; therefore, sayd Plato, that diuine philosopher, that happy is that Commonweale where either the Prince is a Philosopher, or where a Philosopher is the Prince.

I had weened before that there had bene no other learninge in the world, but that these men had that be doctors of diuinity, or of the lawe, or of phisicke; whereof the first had all his cunning in preaching, the second in matters of the spiritual lawe, and the third in phisicke, and in loking of dizeased mens water; mary, ye tell me now, of many other sciences very necessary for euery Commonweale, which I neuer heard of before; but either there be fewe of these doctors that can skill of them, or els they disclose but little of their cunning.

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can skill of these sciences now a dayes, and of those there be too fewe of them that are esteemed any thing the

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the more for knowledge therein, or called for to any counsell: And therefore other seeing these sciences nothing esteemed or set by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some pryce, as to diuinity, to the lawe, and to phisicke, though they cannot be perfitt in none of these without the knowledge of the sciences aboue touched; and therefore it is ordayned by vniuersities, that first men should bee Bachelers and Maisters of Artes, ere they should come to diuinity: And these Artes be the seuen liberal sciences; as, grammar, logicke, rhetoricke, arithmatique, geometry, musicke, and astronomy; and now they skip ouer them, and fall to diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchased them any iudgment through the forsayd sciences, which maketh them to fall to these dyuersities of opinions that yee speake of; for all beginners in euery science be very quicke, and ouer hasty in geuing their iudgment of thinges, (as experience teacheth euery man) and then, when they haue once uttered their iudgments and opinions, they will see nothing that will sounde contrary to the same, but eyther they will construe it to their own phantasie, or vtterly deny it to be of any authority. Pythagoras, to his scholers that came to learne his prophane sciences, commaunded silence for seuen yeares, that by all that space they should be hearers only, and no reasoners: And in this diuine science euery boye that hath not red scripture past halfe a yeare, shal be suffered not onely to reason and enquire of thinges (for that were tollerable) but to affirm newe and straunge interpretations vpon the same, neuer heard of before. What ende of opinions can there bee while this is suffered? Also Plato forbad any man to come to his schoole that was ignoraunt in geometry; and to this high schoole of dyuinity, hee that knoweth not his grammer, much less any other science, shall be admitted at the first, I say not to

What maketh learned men to be so fewe.

Young students bee allwaies ouer hasty in vttering their iudgments.

Pythagoras commaunded silence to his disciples for time.

Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in geometry should enter his schoole.



What  
harne may  
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appertayne.

That it is  
not learning  
sufficient to  
know the  
tongues, and  
to wryte.

Knight.

Doctor.

learne, for that might be suffered, but to iudge : And there cometh in the thinge that the same Plato sayeth to bee an onely cause sufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Commonweale, where it is vsed, that is, when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne, as youth of thinges belonginge to olde men, children ouer their fathers, seruants ouer their maisters, and private men ouer their maiestrates, what ship can be long saufe from wracke, where euery man will take upon him to bee a Pylate? What house well gouerned, where euery seruant will be a maister and a teacher? I speake thus much of the commendation of learning, not only because I heard my friend heere (the Capper) set litle by learninge, but also that I see many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne the tongues; whom I can resemble well to those men that esteemeth more the bark than the tree, the shale more then the kyrnel; wherefore they seeme to take the bright sunne from the earth, that would take away learning from us; for the same is no more necessary for the increase of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increase of ciuility, wisdome and policie amonge men. And as much as reasonable men doth excell all other creatures by the gyft of reason, so much excelleth a learned man any other through the polishing and adorning of reason by these soiences.

Of my fayth I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my company at this time; for of a wise man, a man may alwayes learne: But mee thought yee sayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee should haue learned men few ynough within a while, if the world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be the cause thereof?

I shewed you all ready one great cause of the same; that was, where I shewed you that most men

men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write and reade, another cause is that they see no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or estimation geuen them like as hath bene in time past: But rather the contrary, the more learned the more troubles, losses, and vexations they come unto.

Why learning should decay.

God forbid! how so?

Knight.  
Doctor.

Mary haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late within this xx or xxx yeares, and all for declaring their opinions in thinges that haue ryfen in controuersie? Haue you not knowne when one opinion hath bene set forth, and who so euer sayd against that were put to trouble? And shortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and set forth, were not the other that prospered before put to trouble for saying their minds against this latter opinion? And so neither of both parties escaped, but eyther first or last hee came to bee hit, of whether side foeuer he were, except it were some wetherwise fellowes that could chaunge their opinions as the more and stronger part did chaunge theirs: and what were they that came to these troubles the singularest fellows of both parties; for there came no other to the concertacion of these things, but such who seeing in steede of honour and preferment, dishonour and hinderaunce, recompenced for a reward of learning? Will any either put his childe to that science that may bring him no better fruite than this? Or what scholer shall haue any courage to study to come to that ende: the rarity of scholers, and solitude of the vniuersities, doe declare this to be truer then any man with speach can declare.

Then I perceauē euery man findeth himself greeued at this time, and no man goeth cleare as farre as I can perceauē. The gentleman, that he cannot lyue on his landes onely as his father did before: the artificers cannot set so many a worke by reason all manner of victayle is so deere: the hus-

Marchaunt.

That euery state findeth himselfe greeued.

husbandman, by reason his land is dearer rented then before : then we that be marchaunts pay much deerer for every thing that commeth over sea : which great derth (I speak in comparison of former times) hath ben alwayes in a maner at a stay euer after that baseness of our English coyne, which happened in the later yeares of kyng Henry the eyght.

Doctor.

That marchaunts best  
sane themselves in euery  
alteration.

Of our older  
coyne exhausted.

I doubt not, but if any sorte of men have licked themselves whole, yee be the same : for what oddes fouer there happen to be in the exchange of things, yee that bee marchaunts can espy it straight : for example, because yee touched somewhat of the coyne, as soone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunfed, yee by and by what was to be wonne therein beyonde sea, raked all the olde coyne for the most parte in the realme, and founde the meanes to haue it caryed ouer, so as little was lefte behinde within this realme of such olde coyne in a very shorte space, which, in my opynion is a great cause of this dearth that hath bene since of all things.

Knight.

How can that be ? What maketh it to the matter what sorte of coyne we haue among ourselves, so it be currant from one hand to another, yea if it were made of leather.

Doctor.

Whether it  
make any  
matter of  
what mettall  
the coyne  
be made of.

Yea, so men commonly say, but the truth is contrary, as not only I coulde prove by common reason, but also that prooffe and experience hath already declared the same : but now we doe not reason of the causes of these griefes, but what states of men be griued in deede by this dearth of things ; and albeit I heare euery man finde himselfe griued by it in one thinge or other, yet considering that as many of them as haue wares to sell, doe enhaunse as much in the pryce of things that they sell, as was enhaunfed before in the prices of things that they must buy : as the marchaunt if he buy deere he will sell deere againe : so these artificers, as cappers, clothiers, shoemakers, and farmers haue respect large ynough in sellinge their wares to the price of victayle, wooll, and iron, which



which they buy. I haue seen a cap for xiiii. pence as good as I can get now for ii. shillings and sixpence: of cloth yee haue heard how the pryce is ryfen. Now a payre of shooes cost twelve pence, yet in my time I haue bought a better for sixpence. Now I can get never a horse shooed vnder ten pence or twelve pence, where I haue also seen the common price was sixpence. I cannot therefore vnderstande that these men haue greatest grieve by this common and vniuersall dearth, but rather such as haue their liuynges and stypendes rated at a certaynty, as common laborers at eight pence a day, journeymen of all occupations, serving men to forty shillings a year: and gentlemen whose landes are set out by them and their auncestors, either for lyues or for terme of yeares, so as they cannot enhaunce the rents thereof, though they would, and yet have the pryce enhaunced to them of euery thing that they buy. Yea, the Prynce, of whom wee speake nothing of all this while, as she hath most of yearely reuenewes and that certayne, so should she haue most losse by this dearth, and by the alteration specially of the coyne, for like as a man that hath a great number of seruants vnder him, if he would graunt that they should pay him pinnes weekly, where before they payde him pence, I think he should be most looser himselfe; so wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which commeth to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore liuinge, the cleare gaynes commeth for the most part to the Prince, now if her Highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettings in this base coyne, I reporte me to you wether that will go as farre as good money in the prouision of necessities for herselfe and the realme. I thinke plainely no, for though her Grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her Grace cannot in deede without great grudge of her Maiesties subiects, yea, since her Maiesty must haue from beyonde the seas many thinges necessary,

What men  
are pinched  
by this com-  
mon dearth.

That the  
prince hath  
most losse by  
this common  
dearth.

What daunger should it be to the realme if the prince should want treasure in time of neede.

cessary, not onely for her Graces household, and ornaments aswell of her person and family, as of her horses, which percase might bee by her Grace somewhat moderated ; but also for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be spared, as armor of all kindes, artillary, ankers, cables, pitch, tarre, iron, Steele, (yea I iudge farther) some hand-gunnes, gunne-powlder, and many other thinges moe than I can reckon, which her Grace sometimes doth buy from beyonde the seas, at the prices that the straungers will set them at: I passe ouer the enhaunsment of the charges of her Graces housholde which is common to her Grace with all other noblemen, therefore (I say) her Maiesty should haue most losse by this common dearth of all other ; and not onely losse, but daunger to the realme and all her subiects, if her Grace should want treasure to purchase the sayde provision and necessities for warre, or to finde soldiers in time of neede, which passeth all the other priuate losses that wee speake of.

Capper.

We heere say that the Queenes Maiestyes mint maketh up her losses that way, by the gaynes which she hath by the mint another way, and if that bee to shorte shee supplieth that lacke by subsidies, and impositions of her subiects, so as her Grace can haue no lacke, so longe as her subiectes hath it.

Doctor.

How the queenes maiesty cannot haue treasure when her subiects haue none.

Yee say well there, so long as the subiects haue it, so it is meete the Queene should haue as long as they haue it: but what and they haue it not, for they cannot haue it, when there is no treasure left within the realme, and as touchinge the mint, I coumpt that profit much like, as if a man would take his woode vp by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to lose the profit that might growe thereof yearely: or to pull the wooll of his sheepe by the roote; and as for the subsidies, howe can they be large when the subiects haue little to departe with: and yet that way of gathering treasure is not alwayes most fauile

saue for the prynces suerty: and wee see many times the profits of such subsidies spent in the appeasing of the people that are moued to sedition, partly by occasion of the same.

To what profit the new mint is like.

Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with so wise a man as yee be, Maister Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with the whole discourse of this matter; and as hetherto wee haue ensearched the very sores and grieues that every man feeleth, so to try out the causes of them, and the causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be soon apparent; and though we be not the men that can reform them, yet percase some of vs may come in place where wee may aduertise other of the same that might further and helpe forward the redresse of these things.

Knight.

A Gods name I am content to bestowe this day to satisfie your pleasures, and though this communication (percase) should doe no great good, yet it can doe no harm, I trust, nor offend no man, sith it is had betweene vs heere a parte and in good manner.

Doctors.

No, what man should be angry with him that were in an house, and espied some faulte in the beames, or rafters of the same, and would ensearch the defaulte, and then certifie the good man of the house thereof, or some other dwelling therein, as well for his owne sauegarde as for others: but for as much as wee haue thus far procceded as to the findinge out of the griefes, which, as farre as I perceauie standeth in these poynets (that is to say) dearth of all things in comparison of the former age, though there be scarfenes of nothing, desolation of cuntryes by inclosures, desolation of townes for lacke of occupations and craftes: and diuision of opinions in matters of Religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them to contend one against another. Nowe let vs go to the garden under the Vyne, where hauing a good, freshe and coole sitting for vs, in the shadow,

A recapitulation of the common griefes.

E

there



there wee may proceede further on this matter at leasure. And I will bespeake our supper heere with myne host, that wee may all suppe together. A Gods name (quoth every one of the rest of the company) for wee are weary here of sitting so long. And so wee all departed to the garden.



### The Second D I A L O G U E ;

*Wherein the causes or occasions of the said griefs are increased.*

Knight.

**W**HEN we had walked vp and downe in the sayd garden a pretty whyle, I thought long till I had hearde more of the sayd Doctor's communication, for he seemed to mee a very wise man, not after the common sort of these clarks which can talke of nothing but of the faculty that they professe: as if they be deuines, of diuinity; lawyers, of the law; and phisitions, of phisicke onely: this man spake very naturally of euery thinge, as a man vniuersally seene, that had ioyned good learning with good wit, and therefore I desired him and the rest of our sayde companions, to resort agayne to the matter that wee left at; and first to discourse and search out what should be the causes of the said common and vniuersal dearth of all things (in comparison of the former age) saying to the doctor thus: I maruayle much, maister doctor what should be the cause of this dearth, seeing all things are (thanks be to God) so plentyfull. There was neuer more plenty of cattel then there is now of all fortes; and yet it is scarcify of things which commonly maketh dearth: this is a maruaylous dearth, that in such plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a maruaylous dearth that commeth in time of plenty.

Syr

Syr it is (no doubt) a thing to be mused vpon, and worthy of inquisition : let mee heare euery one of your opinions, and than yee shall heare myne. Doctor.

I, think it is longe of you Gentlemen, that this dearth groweth, by reason yee enhaunse your lands to such a heyght as men that liueth theron must needes sell deere agayne, or els they were neuer able to make their rent. Husband.  
The occa-  
sion of this  
dearth is laid  
to the Gen-  
tlemen.

And I say it is long of you Husbandmen, that wee are forced to rayse our rents, by reason we must buy so deere all things that wee haue of you, as corne, cattell, goose, pig, capon, chicken, butter, and egges. What thinge is there of all these, but that yee sell it nowe deerer by the one halfe then yee did within these xxx. yeares? cannot you, neyghbour, remember, that within these xxx. yeres I could in this towne buy the best pig or goose that I could laye my hand on for foure pence, which now costeth tweluepence, a good capon for threepence, or fourepence, a chicken for i. d. a hen for ii. d. which now costeth me double and triple the money? it is likewise in greater ware, as biese and mutton. Knight.  
From the  
Gentlemen  
it is layde to  
the Hus-  
bandmen.

I graunt that, but I say you and your sorte, men of landes, are the first cause hereof, by reason you rayse your landes. Husband.

Well, if yee and your sorte will agree thereto, that shal be holpen, vndertake that you and your sorte will sell al things at the price yee did xxx. yeares agoe, and I doubt not to bring all Gentlemen to let vnto you their landes at the rent they went at xxx. yeares past : and that the fault is more in you that bee Husbandmen then in us that bee Gentlemen, it appeareth by this, all the landes of the realme is not enhaunfed, for some haue takings therein, as leases, or copies not yet expyred, which cannot be enhaunfed though the owners would, and some noblemen and gentlemen there be, that when their landes be at their disposition, yet they will enhaunse nothinge aboue Knight.  
The Gentle-  
men excuse  
and reason-  
able offer.

the olde rent, so as a greate parte of the landes of the realme stand yet at the old rent : and yet, neuerthelesse, there is none of your sorte at all, but selleth all things they haue deerer then they were wont to doe by the one halfe. And yet these gentlemen that doe enhaunse their rentes, doe not enhaunse it generally to the double, though I confesse that some of vs that had landes either geuen vs by the Kings Highnesse, that belonged heretofore to abbeyes and priories, and were neuer surueyed to the vttermost before, or otherwise descended to vs, haue enhaunsed any of them aboue the old rent : yet all that amounteth not to halfe the landes of the realme.

Doctor.

How say yee? he sayeth well to you nowe : will yee sell your wares as yee were wont to doe, and he will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accustomed to haue it. When the Husbandman had pawfed a while, hee sayd:

Husband.

If I had the price of euery thing that I must pay for besides, likewise brought downe, I could be content : els not.

Doctor.

What thinges bee those?

Husband.

The Husbandman refuseth and putteth ouer the faulte to Iron-mongers and Clothiers.

Mary, iron for my plough, harrowes, and cartes; tarre for our sheepe; shooes, cappes, linnen and wollen cloth for my meany, which if I should buy neuerthelesse as dere as I doe now, and yet sell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforesayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could neuer lyue.

Doctor.

Then I perceauē yee must haue the price of other things qualified aswell as the rent of your land, ere yee can aford your ware good cheape.

Husband.

Yea (but sir) I think if the land were brought downe that the pryce of all things would fall withall.

Doctor.

Graunt that all the landlords in this realme woulde, with one assent, agree that their landes should bee in their tenants handes, at like rent as they

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they were at xxx. yeares agoe: yee sayd afore yee coulde not yet sell your wares as good cheape as yee mighte xx. yeares past, because of the pryce that is rayfed in other things that yee must buy: and if yee would say that those men should be driuen againe to sell those wares that yee buy, first better cheape, and then yee will sell youres thereafter. I pray you how might they be compelled to doe so: they be straungers, and not within obedience of our soueraigne Lady, that doe sell such wares, as iron, tarre, flaxe, and other: then consider mee, if yee cannot so compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to suffer straungers to sell all their commodities deere, and wee ours good cheape: if it were so, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impouerishinge of our owne, for they would haue much treasure for theirs, and have our commodities from vs for a very litle: except yee could deuise to make but one price of our commodities among our selues and a nother outwardes, which I cannot see how it may bee.

If all landes were abated in their rent, whether this dearth would be remedied?

That it were not expedient that straungers should sel deere and we ours good cheape.

Nay, I will make my neyghbour heere, a nother reasonable offer, if hee refuse this: let my tenauntes rent bee increased as your payment is increased, after the rate and yet I am contented.

Knight.  
A nother offer of the Gentleman made to the Husbandman.

*Husband.* What meane yee by that?

I meane this, yee sell that yee were wont to sell a foretime for xx. grotes, now for xxx. Let my rent be increased after that proportion and rate that is for euery xx. grots of olde rent x. shillings, and so as the pryce of your wares ryseth, and yet I doe but keepe my lande at the olde stent.

Knight.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde, but vi. poundes xiii. shillings, and iii. d. yearely of rent, and I pay that truely, yee can require no more of mee.

Husband.

I cannot much say against that, but yet I perceau I shall be still a loser by that bargayne though I cannot tell the reason why: but I perceiue

Knight.

ceiue

ceiue yee fell deerer that ye liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing: help me Mayster Doctore I pray you, for the husbandman driueth mee to the wall.

Doctore.

Mary but mee thinketh touching the matter yee did reason of, yee draue him to his shifts, that is, to confesse that this dearth ryseth not at your hand. And though he do defend him selfe for his payment to you by colour of a lawe, yet he seemeth to confesse thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take little for your land, and that there is no lawe to restrayne him, but he may sell his wares as deere as he listeth: it is ynough for your purpose that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearth rose not first at your hande, but whether the pryces of thinges increasing as they doe: it were reason yee did rayse your wares (which is your lande) or to bee payde after the olde rate: whan yee did set your land, if yee bee compelled to pay for your prouision after the new rate, we will talke of that heer after, or let that to be considered of other wise men: but now let us see if the husbandman were forced to sell his thinges good cheape whether all thinges shoulde bee well then. Our *Englishe* coyne being supposed to be base, and of no such estimation in other countryes as within our owne realme (as for the most parte it hath bene) before that it was restored by our noble prince which now raygneth: put the case this, that this Husbandman should be commaunded to sell his wheate at viii. d. the bushell, rye at vi. d. bareley at iiiii. d. his pig and goose at iiiii. d. his capon at iiiii. d. his henne at i. d. ob. his wooll at a marke the todde, biefes and muttons after the olde pryces as in time past haue bene: he hath then ynough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time past: his Landlorde agayne hath as much rent as hee was wont to have: and the same when the pryce is so set, will goe as far for the sayd wares, whereof the pryces be thus set as so much of olde coine,

Whether if the Husbandman were forced to abate the prices of his stuffe, this dearth should be then mended?

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coine, paide after the olde wont would haue  
 done: all this is yet well, heere is yet neither Lord,  
 nor Tenaunt griued: well let us goe farther, the  
 husbandman must buy iron, salt, tarre, pitch,  
 and suppose hee should bee also forced to reare up  
 flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth both  
 linnen, and wollen, and leather were set after the  
 rate. The Gentleman must buy wynes, spices,  
 filkes, armour, glasse to glase his house withall:  
 iron also for tooles, weapons, and other instru-  
 ments necessary, as salt, oyles, and many other  
 diuerse thinges, more then I can reckon with-  
 out summe: whereof they may in no wise want,  
 as iron, and salt, for of that which is within the  
 realme of both, is not halfe sufficient for the  
 same: oyles, tarre, pitch, and rozyn, whereof  
 wee haue none at all, and without some other of  
 the said commodities wee could liue but grossly,  
 and barbarously, as without wynes, spyces, and  
 filkes, these must bee brought from beyonde the  
 seas, shall we buy them as good cheape after the  
 rate? A man would thinke yes, for when straun-  
 gers see that with lesse money then they were wont  
 to take for these wares, they may buy as much  
 of the commodities of this realme as they were  
 wonte a fore with more money, they will be con-  
 tent to take the lesse money when it goeth as farre  
 as the more went before, and so sell their wares  
 as good cheape: (as for an example) if they sell  
 now a yard of veluet for xx. s. or xxii. s. and  
 payeth that for a todde of wooll, were it not as  
 good for them then to sell their veluet at a marke  
 a yarde, so they had a todde of wooll for a  
 marke?

I would thinke so, for thereby hee shoulde be  
 at no more losse then hee is now. And so the  
 like reason may serue for iron, wynes, salt, spice,  
 oyles, pitch, tarre, flaxe, waxe and all other out-  
 warde commodities.

Knights.

If



**Doctor:**

If I should aske you this question, whether they would be compelled by a lawe to sell their wares so or no: what could ye say?

**Knight.**

It maketh no matter whether it were so or no, and I think they cannot, because they be out of the prinnces dominion, and at liberty, whether they will bring any thinge to us or no, but seeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good cheape at that pryce they sell for lesse money, as they had before for the greater price they will willingly bring their wares and sell them so.

**Doctor.**

The straun-  
gers will  
take but mo-  
ney currant  
every where  
for their ware  
that they  
be on their  
charge.

Thereof I doubt, vpon the former supposition of our base coyne, for I thinke they woulde sell still at the highest as they doe now, or bring no-thinge at all to us. For yee must vnderstand they come not always for our commodities, but sometimes to sell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be best vendible, and to buy in other countryes other commodities where the same is best cheape, and sometimes to sell in one parte of the realme their wares that bee there most desired, and to goe to some other parte of the realme for the commodities that be there most abundaunt and best cheape: or partly of our countrey and partly of another, and for that purpose coyne vniuersally currant is most commodious, specially if they entend to bestow it in any other place, then where they were unladen of their marchaundize. Now if our coine were not so allowed in other places as it is heere, the straunger should be at greater losses, if he should take our coyne for his wares, he had leaue bring his wares to other places, where hee might haue coyne currant in all places for it, that he might bestowe where and when hee list. If they woulde looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that they would not study to bring to vs such wares or stufte as should be best cheape with them, and most deere with vs.

**Knight.**

Yea no doubt, that is the polisie of all marchaunts.

**What**

What stuffe is that trowe you?

Doctor.

Mary glasses of all sorte, paynted clothes, and papers, oranges, pippens, cherries, perfumed gloves, and such like tryfles.

Knight.

Yee say well, they will percase attempt us with such, and such thinges as are good cheape with them, it costeth but their laboures onely and their peoples, which els should be idle, yet these thinges be some what after the price in other places vendible as well as here. But when we feele the lacke of iron, Steele, salt, hempe, flaxe, and such other, such light wares as yee speake of will not be desired here but reiected, and these other looked for: what other things els will they bringtrowe you?

Doctor.

That  
straungers  
and all mar-  
chauntes  
bring thinges  
that bee best  
cheape to  
them and  
deereft with  
us.

Percase yee meane, filkes, wynes and spycles.

Knight.

No not that, for those bee in good price els where.

Doctor.

What then should they have to vtter to vs, that is best cheape with them, and deereft with vs.

Knight.

Brasse, for it should go with them but for brasse in deede, and therefore good cheape, and heere with us a great part for silver, and therefore deere with vs; and that they would bringe vnto vs.

Doctor.

How in brasse pots, pans, and other vessels of brasse?

Knight.

Not so, no man would take such stuffe but for brasse in deede.

Doctor.

How then? then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in coyne made beyonde sea like in all thinges to our coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes, and when they see that esteemed here as siluer, they bringe that for our commodities, as for our wolles, felles, cheese, butter, cloth, tinne and ledde, which thing euery man will bee glad to sell, for the most they can get, and beinge offered of straungers more of our coine then they may get within the countrey, they wil sell them to straungers rather then vs, with whom the price

Knight.

Doctor.

is set: then straungers may aforde that coine good cheape, for they make it them selves, and the stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and so they will geeue thereof for our sayde commodities as much as yee will aske. Then though they made not such coyne themselves, yet seeing they must pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home of his neighbours, the straungers must needs haue a consideration of that in the price of that sayd outwarde marchaundize that they sell, and also holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhaust our chiefe commodities, and gieve vs brasfe for them, where with wee cannot buy such other like necessary commodities againe, as we shoulde want if they were not plenty within our realme. Much like the exchange that Homer sayeth Glaucus made with Diomêdes, when he gave to this man his golden harnesse for brasen. But the other way they must needs be brought to sell their wares deerer to vs, and then if this husbandman and gentleman, and so all other within this Realme should be compelled to sell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that commeth from beyonde the sea: I cannot see how they should long prosper, for I neuer knew him that bought deere and sould good cheape, and vse it any long space, to thriue.

Glauci &  
Diomêdis  
permutatio.

He that  
selles good  
cheape and  
buieth deere  
shall not  
lighty  
thriue.

Knight.

There may be searchers made for such coyner as yee speake of comming in, and punishments devised therefore, and for going forth of victayles also, that none shall passe this Realme.

Doctor.

It is not possible to keepe our treasure from going forth of the Realme, if it be in more estimation els where.

There may be no deuise imagined so strong, but that yee may be deceaued in both those points, as well in such coyne brought in, as in victayles caried forth: for many heads wil deuise many wayes to get any thing by, and though wee bee enuyroened with a good poole (that is the Sea) yet there is to many posterns of it to get out and in,



in, unawares of the maister. Whosoever hath but a pretty house with any family of his owne, and but one gate to go forth and come in at, and the maister of the house neuer so attentive, yet somewhat shal be purloined forth, much more out of such a large Realme as this is, hauinge so many wayes and posterns to goe forth at and come in : and yet if straungers shoulde be content to take but our wares for theirs, what shoulde let them to aduaunce the prices of their wares, though ours were good cheape unto them, and then shal wee be still losers, and they at the winning hand with us, while they sell deere and buy good cheape, and consequently enrych themselves, and impoverishe us ? Yet had I leauer aduaunce our wares in price as they aduaunce theirs (as wee now do) though some bee losers thereby, but yet not so many as should bee the other way : and yet, what businesse shoulde there be in making of prices of euery trifle ; for so it would be, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by commaundement : And therefore I cannot perceaue, that it may bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you, Gentleman, and you good Husbandman) for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied like wise at the same, by releasing the thing agayne at either of your handes that was the cause of this dearth : But if either you should release your rent, or you the price of your victayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell straungers to bring downe the price of theirs, as I haue sayde : and so longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee, though yee woulde, make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuise away how to liue without them and they without you) which I thinke impossible ; or else to use exchange of ware for ware without coyne (as it was before coyne was founde) as I reade in the time of Homer it was, and also the ciuile lawe doth affirm the

That the  
dearth rose  
neither at  
the Gentle-  
mann nor  
Husband-  
mans hand.

Permuta-  
tion of  
thinges be-  
fore coyne.

same, which were very comberfome, and would require much cariage of ware vp and downe, where nowe by the benefit of coyne a man by those tokens fetch the wares that he lacketh a far of, without great trouble of cariage; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

Husband.

If neither the Gentleman nor I may remedy this matter, at whose hands lyeth it to be holpen then?

Doctor.

I will tell my mynde therein hereafter; but first let us boulte out the cause of this dearth: and therefore let mee learne what other thing should be the cause thereof.

Capper.

Mary these inclosures, and great pastures, are a great cause of the same; whereby men do turne the erable land, being a liuing for diuerse poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand, and where both corne of all sorte; and also cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely sheepe. And in steede of C. or CC. persons that had their liuing thereon, now be there but three or foure shepherds, and the maister onely that hath a liuing thereof.

Complaynt  
against  
sheepe-  
maisters.

Doctor.

Yee touch a matter that is much to be considered, albeit I take not that to be onely the cause of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kind of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx yeares past, it may come to the great defolation and weaking of the strength of this Realme, which is more to be feared then dearth; and I thinke it to be the most occasion of any thinge yee spake yet of these wilde and unhappy vprores that hath bene among us; for by reason of these inclosures many subiectes haue no grounde to liue upon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes set a worke all alike, and therefore the people still increasinge, and their livings diminishing, it must needs come to passe that a great part of the people shal be idle, and lacke liuinge; for  
hunger

That inclo-  
sures is the  
occasion of  
defolation  
and weak-  
ing the  
power of the  
Realme.

hunger is bitter to beare. Wherefore they must needes whan they lacke, murmur agayne them that haue plenty, and so stirre these tumultes.

Experience should seeme to proue playnely that inclosures should be profitable, and not hurtfull to the commonweale; for we see the countreys where most inclosures be are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, North Hamptonshyre, &c. And I haue heard a Ciuilion once say, that it was taken for a maxime in his lawe (this saying) that which is possessed of many in common is neglected of all; and experience sheweth that tenaunts in common be not so good husbandes as when euery man hath his parte in seueralty; also I haue heard say, that in the most countreys beyonde the sea, they knowe not what a common ground meaneth.

I meane not of all inclosures, nor yet all commins, but onely of such inclosures as turneth common and erable fields into pasture, and violent inclosures of commins without iust recompence of them that haue right to commen therein; for if land were seuerally enclosed to the intent to continewe husbandry thereon; and euery man that hath right to commen had for his portion a piece of the same to himself enclosed, I thinke no harme, but rather good should come thereof, if euery man did agree thereto: but yet it would not be sodaynely done; for there be many poore cottages in England, which hauing no lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour, and some refreshinge upon the sayde commens, which if they were sodaynely thrust out from that commodity, might make a great tumult and a disorder in the commonweale, and percase also, if men were suffered to inclose their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it still in tillage, within a while after they would turne all to pasture, as we see they doe nowe too fast.

Knight.

Quod in communi possidetur ab omnibus negligitur.

Reasons to defend inclosures.

Doctor.

What kinde of inclosures is hurtfull.

Knight.



Doctor.

Whether  
that which  
is profitable  
to one may  
be profitable  
to all other,  
if they use  
the same  
feate.

Knight.

I can tell why they should not wel ynough ; for they may not purchase themselves profit by that which may be hurtfull to other : but how to bring them that they would not so doe, is al the matter ; for so long as they finde more profit by pasture then by tillage, they will still inclose, and turn erable land to pastures. (Quoth the Knight, That well may be restrained by lawes, if it were thought most profitable for the Commonweale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

Doctor.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein : so many as haue profit by that matter resisting it. And if such a law were made, yet men studying still of there most profit, would defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

Knight.

I haue heard oftentimes much reasoning in this matter, and some in maintenaunce of these inclosures would make this reason, euery man is a member of the commonweale ; and that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exercise the same feate. Therefore that which is profitable to me, and so to another, may be profitable to all, and so to the whole Commonweale : as a great masse of treasure consisteth of many pence, and one penny added to another, and so to the thirde and fourth, &c. maketh vp a great sume, so doth each man added one to another make up the whole body of a Commonweale.

Doctor.

That reason is good adding some what more to it, true it is, that the thing which is profitable to each man by himselfe, so it be not preiudiall to any other, is profitable to the whole Commonweale, and not otherwise, or else stealing or robbing, which percase is profitable to some men, were profitable to the Commonweale, which no man will admit ; but this feate of inclosinge is so, that where it is profitable to one man it is preiudiciall

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to many ; therefore I thinke that reason sufficient-  
ly answered.

Also they will laye forth another reason, say-  
ing, that that which is our owne commodity  
should bee alwayes aduaunced as much as might  
be ; and these sheepes profit is one of the greatest  
commodity wee haue, therefore it ought to be ad-  
uaunced as high as it may bee.

I could answere that argument with the like  
reason as I did the other : true it is, we ought to  
aduaunce our owne commodity as much as wee  
can, so it bee not to as much more the hinder-  
aunce of our other commodities, or else where-  
as the breede of coneyes, deere, and such like is a  
commodity of this realme ; yet if wee shoulde  
turne all our erable grounde to nourishe that  
commodity, and geue up the plough, and all  
other commodities for it, it were a great folly.

They will say agayne, that all groundes bee  
not mete for sheepe.

It is a very ill grounde, but either it serueth to  
breede sheepe, or to feede them upon : and if al  
that is meete either for the one, were turned to  
the mayntenaunce of sheepe, and none other  
thing, where shall wee haue our other commo-  
dities growe ?

All cannot doe so, though some doe.

What should let them all to do that which they  
see some do ; yea, what should better encourage  
them thereto, then to see them that do it be come  
notable rich men in short time by the doing there-  
of. And then if euery man should do so, one  
following the example of another, what should  
ensue thereof, but a meere solitude, and utter de-  
solation of the whole Realme ; furnished only with  
sheepe, and shepherdes, in steede of good men :  
whereby it might be a pray to the enemyes that  
first would set upon it ; for then the sheepe mayf-  
ters and their shepherds could make no resistaunce  
to the contrary.

Who

Knight.

Doctor.

Euery com-  
modity must  
bee aduaun-  
ced so as it  
be not pre-  
judiciall to  
other great-  
er commo-  
dities.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.  
Doctor.

Knight.

Who can let them to make their most aduantage of that which is their owne ?

Doctor.

No man  
may abuse  
his own  
things to  
the preiudice  
of the Com-  
mon-weale.

Yes, many men may not vse their owne thinges to the damage of the Commonweale : yet for all this that I see, it is a thinge most necessary to be provided for, yet I cannot perceauie it should be the only cause of this dearth ; for this inclosinge and greate grasinge, if it were occasion of that dearth of any thing it must be of corne chiefly ; and nowe these many yeares past we had corne good cheape inough. And the dearth that was then most, was of cattell, as biefes and muttones ; and the broode of these are rather increased then diminished by pastures and inclosinges.

Knight.

Why should men bee then so much offended with these inclosures.

Doctor.

Yes, and not without great cause ; for though these many yeares past through the great bounty of God, we haue had much plenty of corne, whereby it hath bene good cheape, one Acer bearing as much corne as two most commonly were wont to do : yet if these yeares had chaunfed to be but meanelly fruitfull of corne (no doubt) we should haue had as great dearth of corne as we had of other thinges. And then it had bene in a maner an vndoing of the poore commens. And if heereafter there should chaunce any barren yeares of corne to fall, we should bee assuered to finde as greate extremity in the price of corne from that it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And specially, if we haue not ynough to serue within the realme, which may happen hereafter more likely then in time past, by reason that there is much lande since turned to pasture ; for euery man will seek where most aduantage is, and see there is most aduantage in grasing and breeding, then in husbandry and tillage by a great deale. And so longe as it is so, the pasture shall neuer ineroch

vpon



vpon tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary.

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied then? Knight.

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the Grafier, and Sheepe maister is. Doctor.

How could that be done? Knight.

Mary I coniecture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the deuises shall seeme at the first blush so displeasaunt vnto you ere yee consider it thoroughly, that yee will reiect them ere yee examine them: for we talke now, to haue things good cheape: and then if I should mencion a meane that should make some thinges deerer for the time I should be anone reiected, as a man that spake against euery mans purpose. Doctor.

Yet say your minde and spare not, and though your reason at the first seeme vnreasonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reasonable ende. Knight.

Remember what we haue in hand to treat of, not how the prices of thinges onely may be brought downe: but howe these inclosures may bee broken vp and husbandry more used: of the prices of thinges we shall speake heereafter. Doctor.

Wee will remember well that. Knight.

What maketh men to multiply pastures and inclosures gladly? Doctor.

Mary the profit that groweth thereby. Knight.

It is very true and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of these two thynges that I shall tell you. And yee shall make them as glad to exercise tillage, as they doe nowe pastures. Doctor.

What be those two thinges? Knight.

Mary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by the pastures as there groweth by the tillage, or els make that there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the pastures, and then I Doctor.

doubt not but tillage shall be aswell cherished of euery man as pasture.

Knight.

And how may that be done?

Doctor.

That a like  
restraint of  
Wool should  
be made as is  
of corne, or  
none to be  
sent ouer.

Mary the first way is to make the wooll to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof, as the corne is: and that shal be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing ouer Sea vnwrought as yee make of corne: another is to increase the custome of wooll that passeth ouer vnwrought. And by that the price of it shal be abated to the breeders, and yet the price ouer Sea shal be neuer the lesse: but that which is increased in the pryce thereof on straungers shall come to the queenes highnesse, which is as profitable to the realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieue them of other subsidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of woolles, now to the inhaunsinge of the price of corne, to be as good to the husbandman as wooll should be, and that might be brought to passe if yee will let it haue as free passage ouer sea at all times, as yee haue now for wooll.

Marchaunt.

By the first two wayes, men woulde send lesse wooll ouer sea then they doe now, and by that way the Queenes custome should be dyminished: by your latter way the price of corne should be much enhaunsed, wherewith men would be much grieved.

Doctor.

I wot well it woulde bee deere at the firste, but if I can perswade you that it were reasonable, it were so, and that the same could bee no hinder- aunce to the Realme vniuersally, but greater profit to the same, then I thinke yee would be content it shoulde be so: and as touchinge the Queenes custome I will speake afterward.

Marchaunt.

I graunt if yee could shewe me that.

Doctor.

I will assay it, albeit the matter bee somewhat intricate, and as I shewed you before, at the first vew would displease many, for they would say, woulde yee make corne deerer than it is, haue wee

not

not dearth ynough els without that : nay I pray  
you find the meanes to haue it better cheape if it  
may bee, it is deere ynough already, and such  
other like reasons would be sayd. But now let the  
Husbandman answere such againe. Haue not you  
Grafiers raised the price of your woolles, and felles?  
and you Marchaunt men, Clothiers, and Cappers,  
rayfed the price of your marchaundize and wares,  
ouer it was wont to bee in manner double, is it not  
as good reason then that we should raise the price  
of our corne? what reason is it you should be at  
large and we to bee restrayned. Eyther let vs all  
be restrayned together, or els let vs bee all at lyke  
liberty, yee may sell your wooll ouer sea, your  
felles, your tallow, your cheefe, your butter, and  
your leather, (which ryfeth all by grasing) at your  
pleasure, and for the deereft penny yee can get for  
them. And we shal not sell out our corne, ex-  
cept it be at x. d. the bushel, or vnder, that is as  
much to say, as wee that be husbandmen shall not  
sell our ware except it be for nothing, or for so  
litle as we shall not be able to liue thereon. Thinke  
you if the husbandman here had spoke these  
words, that he did not speake them somewhat  
reasonable.

Reasons  
why the  
Husband-  
man should  
be at like li-  
berty as  
other to sell  
his wares.

I thanke you with all my heart, for yee haue <sup>Husband.</sup>  
spoken in the matter more then I could doe my  
self, and yet nothing but that is most true. Wee  
felt the harme, but wee wist not what was the  
cause thereof, many of vs sawe well long agoe,  
that our profit was but small by the plough, and  
therefore diuerse of my neighbours that had in  
time past, some two, some three, some four  
ploughes of their owne, haue layde downe some  
of them part, and some of them all their teemes,  
and turned either parte or al their arable ground  
to pasture, and thereby haue waxed very riche  
men. And every day some of vs incloseth some  
part of his ground to pasture, and were it not that  
our grounde lyeth in the common fieldes enter-  
mingled



That by  
breeding the  
Husband  
hath most  
cleare  
gaynes.

mingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed of common agreement of all the towneship longe or this time. And to say the very truth I that haue inclosed litle or nothing of my ground, coulde neuer be able to make vp my lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of neate, sheepe, swyne, geese, and hennes, that I doe reare vpon my ground. Whereof because the price is somewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne, and yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reason that many thinges doe belong to husbandry, which bee now exceeding chargeable ouer they were in tyme past.

Cap. per.

Though this reason of Maister Doctors here doth please you well that be Husbandmen, yet it pleaseth vs that be Artificers nothing at all, which buy most both breade corne, and malte corne for our peny: and whereas yee Maister Doctor say that it were as good reason that the Husbandman should reyse the price of his corne, and haue as free vente of the same ouer sea, as we doe and haue of our wares: I cannot greatly deny, but that yet I say that euery man hath need of corne, but they haue not so much of other wares.

Doctor.

Therefore the more necessary that corne is, the more be the men to be cherished that reareth it: for if they see there bee not so much profit in using the plough, as they see in other feates, think ye not that they will leaue that trade and fall to another that they see more profitable? as yee may perceiue by the doings of this honest mans neighbours, which haue tourned their erable land to pasture, because they see more profit by pasture then by tillage. Is it not an old saying in Latin, *Honos alit artes*; that is to say, profit or aduancement nourisheth euery facultie, which saying is so true that it is allowed by the common iudgement of al men. We must vnderstand also that all thinges that should be done in a Commonweale,

That profit  
aduanceth  
all faculties.

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Artes.

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bee not to be forced or to be conſtrayned by the ſtraight penalties of the lawe, but ſome ſo, and ſome either by alurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to bee induſtrious in trauayle or labour of body, or ſtudious to learn any ſcience or knowledge of the mynde: to theſe thinges they may be well prouoked, encouraged, and allured: if they that be induſtrious and painefull, bee rewarded well for their paines: and bee ſuffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures, and ſo likewyſe they that be learned bee aduanced and honoured according to their forwardnes in learning: euery man will then ſtudy either to bee induſtrious in bodely labour, or ſtudious in thinges that pertaynes to knowledge. Take theſe rewards from them, and go about to compel them by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg the ground or exerciſe any manuall arte wherein is any paine: or who will aduenture ouer ſeas for any marchaundife, or uſe any facultie wherein any perill or daunger ſhould be, ſeeing his rewarde ſhal be no more then his that ſits ſtill: but yee will percaſe aunſwere me that all their reward ſhal not be taken away, but part of it. Yet then yee muſt graunt me that as if all theſe rewardes were taken from them, all theſe faculties muſt decaie, ſo if parte of that rewarde be miniſhed, the uſe of theſe faculties ſhall miniſh withall after the rate, and ſo they ſhall be the leſſe occupied, the leſſe they be rewarded and eſteemed. But now to our purpoſe: I think it more neceſſary to deuife a meane how huſbandry may be more occupied rather than leſſe: which I cannot perceiue howe it may be brought to paſſe, but as men do ſee the more gaines therein the gladder they will occupie that feate, and this is to be true (that ſome thinges in a Commonweale muſt be forced with paines and ſome by rewards allured) may appear, by that which the wiſe and polittique ſenator Tully wryteth: ſaying, that it was the wordes of

That ſome thinges are to be allured by rewardes and ſome other with ſtraight paynes forced in a Commonweale.

The leſſe honor or profit is geuen to any arte the leſſe it ſhal be frequented.

Tulli in Ep. ad Atti.

of Solon which was one of the seuen wyse men of Greece, and of those seuen the onely man that made lawes, that a Commonweale was holden vp by two things, chiefly that is by reward and payne: of which words, I gather, that men should be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments, and to abstaine from ill doinges by paines; trowe you if Husbandmen be not better chearyshed or prouoked then they be, to exercise the plough, but that in proceesse of time so many ploughes will be layd downe as I feare me there be all ready that if one ynfruitefull yeare shall happen among vs, as commonly doth once in seuen yeares; we should then not only haue dearth but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it.

Knight.

Howe would yee haue them better chearished to vse the plough.

Doctor.

To let them haue more profit by it then they haue, and liberty to sell it at all times and to all places as freely as men may do other things: but then (no doubt) the price of corne would rise specially at the first more then at length: yet that price would prouoke euery man to set the plough in the ground, to till waste grounds: yea and to turne the lands that is now inclosed for pasture to erable, for euery man will the gladder follow that wherein they see the more gaines, and thereby muste nedes ensue both greater plenty of corne within the realme and alio much treasure should be brought into the realme by reason thereof. And besides that plentie of all other victuall encreased amonge vs.

Knight.

That would I faine heare you declare howe?

Doctor.

Ye haue heard that by this free vent and sale of corne, the husbandmans profit is aduaunced, then it is shewed that euery man naturally will follow that, wherein he sees profit insue: therefore men wil the gladder occupy husbandry, and the more do



do occupie husbandry, the more plenty of corne must nedes be: And the more plenty of corne there is thereof the better cheape: And also the more will be spared ouer that which shall suffice for the Realme. And then that may bee spared in a good yeare, shall bringe vs againe either corne: or els the commodities of other countries necessary for vs. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more vniuersal breede should be of all victuals of neate, sheepe, swine, geese, hennes, capons, and chickens: for al these are reared much on corne.

Profit will make Husbandmen more occupied and thereby more profit and consequently better cheape of corne.

If men shoulde sell when a good feasonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus: when the realme is serued what shoulde wee doe if a barren year shoulde happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yeare before.

Knight.

Fyrste ye muste consider that men will be sure they wyll keepe ynoughe to finde themselves within the realme, ere they sell any forth of the same, and hauing libertie to sell at their pleasure, doubt ye not, but they had leuer sell their corne two pence or three pence in a bushel better cheape withing the realme, then to be at the charge of carriage, and perill of aduenture: in sending it ouer and sell it dearer, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men being prouoked with luker, wil keepe the more corne, loking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby must nedes be great store: and though they did not so, but should sell ouer sea all that they might spare ouer that serues the realme, when the yere is plentiful, yet by reason that throughe the meanes aforesaid moe ploughes are set a worke, then would suffice the realme in a plentiful year: if a scarfe yeare should fal after, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yere, would be more than inough in an vnfruitful yere, at the leaste would be sufficient to finde the Realme, and so should the Realme be serued with inough of corn in a scarfe yere, and

Doctor.

in

in a plentiful yere no more then inough: which might be sold ouer for great treasure, or greater commodities: where now in a plentyfull yere we seeke to haue but as much as may suffice the Realme. Then if a scarce yere should happen, we must needes lacke of our owne to serue, and should bee dryuen to buy from beyond the sea, and then if they were as enuious as wee bee: might they not say, when we requyred any corne of them, (that seing they could get none from vs when we had plenty) why shovld they let vs haue any corne when we haue scarfitie? Surely common reason would that one region shoulde helpe another when it lackes, and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey shoulde haue all commodities, but which that one lackes another brings forth: and that that one countrey lacketh this yere, another hath plenty thereof commonly the same yere, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, and thereby loue and societie to growe among all men the more, but here we would do as though we had neede of no other covntrey on earth, but to liue all of ourselues: and as though we myght make the market of all thinges as wee lust ourselues, for though God is bountiful unto us and sendes us many great commodities, yet wee coule not liue withoute the commodities of others. And for example, of iron and salte thought wee haue competentlye thereof, yet wee haue not the thirde parte to suffice the Realme, and that can in no wise be spared if yee will occupy husbandry, then tar, rozyn, pitch, oyle, and steele, wee haue none at all: and for wyne, spyes, linnen cloth, filkes, and colours, though we might liue indifferently without them, yet far from any ciuility should it be: as I deny not but many thinges wee might haue heere sufficiently that we buy now from beyond sea, and many thinges we might spare wholly: whereof if time will serue I shall talke more hereafter: but  
nowe

nowe to returne to the first poynte I spake of before, to bee one of the meanes to bring husbandry vp, that is by basing the estimation of wooll, and felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other, for I do not allowe that meane that may base any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhaunsing of a better commodity: but if both commodities may be inhaunsed together, as by the laste deuise I thinke they might be, I allowe that way better, neuerthelesse whereas you (brother Mercer) shewed afore, that either by restraining of wool and other commodities, till they were equale within the Realme after the rate of the corne: or by inhaunsing the custome of wooll and other the sayd commodities, till the price beside the custom of the said commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion: the Queenes custome shoulde be diminished, I thinke not so, for the one way, as much as she shoulde haue for the more wooll at little custom ventred ouer, so much should we haue for the lesse Wooll at a greater custom ventred. And the other way as much as her Grace should lose by her custome of wooll, so much or more should her Grace winne by the custome of clothes made within the Realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuise, that if they should take place we must doe, that is if we keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee must spare many other thinges that we haue now from beyonde sea, for wee must alwayes take heede that wee buy no more of straungers then we do sell them, for so we should impouerish our selues and enriche them. For hee were no good husband that had no other yerely reuenues but of his husbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he selle againe. And that is a pointe that wee might saue much by our treasure in this Realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it, what number first of

Whether  
the Queenes  
custome  
should be di-  
minished by  
straint of  
wooll un-  
wrought.



How straun-  
gers fetch  
from us our  
great for ve-  
ry trifles.

Our delicacy  
in requirring  
straungers  
Wares.

The en-  
crease of  
Haberdashers  
and Millen-  
ers ouer they  
were wont  
to be.

trifles comes hether from beyond the sea, that we mighte eyther clean spare or els make them within our Realme, for the which we either pay inestimable treasure euery yeare, or els exchange substanciall wares and necessarie for them for the which we might receiue great treasure. Of the which forte I meane aswell looking glasses as drinking, and also to glase windowes, dialles, tables, cardes, balles, puppettes, penners, inkehornes, tothepickes, gloues, kniues, dagges, owches, browches, aglettes, buttons of silke and siluer, earthen pots, pinnes, and pointes, hawkes belles, paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the Realme sufficient for vs, and as for some thinges they make it of our owne commodities and sende it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this realme: as of our Wooll they make clothes, cappes and kerseies, of our felles they make Spanish skinnes, gloues and gerdels, of our tinne saltsellers, spones and dishes, of our broken linnen clothes and ragges, paper both white and browne, what treasure thinke yee goes out of this Realme for euery of these thinges: and then for all together it exceedes myne estimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other gloues then is made in Fraunce or in Spayne: nor Kersie but it muste bee of Flaunders die: nor cloth but French or Fryseadowe: nor ouche, brooch, or agglet but of Venice making, or millen: nor dagger, swearde knife or gyrdle but of Spanish making; or some outward countrey, no not as much as a spurre but that is fetched at the millener. I haue heard within these xl. yeares when there were not of these haberdashers that selle French or millen cappes, glasses, kniues, daggers, swordes, gyrdels and such thinges, not a dosen in all London: and nowe from the towne to Westminster alonge, euery streete is full of them, and their shoppes

shoppes glitters and shynes of glassies as well drynking as loking, yea all manner of vessel of the same stuffe : paynted cruses, gaie daggers, knyues, fwerdes, and girdels that it is able to make any temperate man to gase on them and to buy somewhat, though it serue to no purpose necessarie. What neede them beyonde sea to trauaile to Perowe or such farre countreies, or to trye oute the sandes of the rivers of Tagus in Spaine, Pactolus in Asia, and Ganges in India, to get amonge them after much labour small sparkes of gold, or to digge the deepe bowels of the earth for the mine of siluer or golde, when they can of vile claie not farre sought for : and of pryple stones and ferne rootes, make good golde and siluer, more then a greate many of siluer and golde mines would make, I thinke not so litle as a hundreth thousand poundes a yeare is fetched of our treasure, for thinges of no value of themselves, but only for the labours of the workers of the same, which are set a worke all on our charges : what groseness of wits be we of, that see it, and suffer such a continual spoile to be made of our good and treasure by such meanes, and specially that will suffer our owne commodities to go and set straungers a worke, and then to buy them againe at theyr handes, as of our wooll they make and die kersies, French-adowes, broade clothes, and cappes beyonde sea and brynge them hether to be sold againe : wherein I pray you note what they doe : they make us pay at the ende for our owne stuffe againe. Yea, for the straungers custome for their workmanshippe, and colours, and lastely for the seconde custome in the retourne of the wares into the Realme again : whereas by working the same within the Realme, our owne men should be set a worke at the charges of straungers, the customs should be borne all by straungers to the Queene, and the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

How the  
straungers  
finde an easy  
way to get  
treasure by  
thinges of  
no value  
then by any  
mynes of  
Gold or Sil-  
uer.

How straun-  
gers finde  
their nation  
with our  
commodities  
and on our  
costes.

Knight.

If yee ponder such thinges and, other, which goeth ouer sea yerely from vs for the same, yee speake to litle by as much againe, but one thinge I haue marked that albeit it is true, that though straungers buy their woll deare and pay twise custome, that is both at going out of the woll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the same shall be better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that should come, I would faine knowe.

Doctor.

Why straungers may af-  
forde wares  
better cheape  
made by  
them then  
we may the  
same made  
here, and  
yet that it  
were better  
for vs to buy  
our owne  
though they  
were dearer.

Whether it come of our sloth, or of our charge-  
able fare or of our idlenes, which we Englishmen  
vse, percase more then other nations, I knowe  
not: yet it were better for vs to paie more to our  
owne countrey men for these wares, then to straun-  
gers lesse, for how little gaines so euer goeth ouer,  
it is lost to us cleare, but how much so euer the  
gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it  
is all saued with in the realme: and a like rea-  
son as you make now here, once a book seller  
made mee when I asked him why, we had not  
white and browne paper made within the realme  
aswell as they had made beyond the sea? Then  
he answered mee that there was paper made a  
while within the realme. At the last the man  
perceiued that made it that he could not forthe his  
paper as good cheape as it came beyond the sea,  
and so he was forced to lay downe making of  
paper and no blame in the man, for men will  
geve neuer the more for his paper because it was  
made here: but I would eyther haue the paper  
staied from comming in, or so burdened with  
custome: that by that time it came hether, our  
men mighte aforde their paper better cheape, then  
straungers might do theires, the customes consi-  
dered.

Knight.

There ye speake a thinge that the Queenes At-  
tourney would not agree unto, for if such ware  
were made within the Realme, then the Queenes  
custome



custome should be lesse by reason that little or no such wares should come from beyond the Sea.

If the Queenes Attourney did regard, as well the profite that should come after: as that which is present afore the eyes, hee would agree to this well inough, for by this meanes inestimable treasure should be saued within the realme, and then it could not growe to the profite of the subiects but it must needes growe also to the profite of the queene, for the wealth of the subjectes, is the profit of the queen: and in mine opinion they doe not beste provide for her graces profite, that procureth onely a presente commoditie: but rather that commodity that may longest endure without grieve of her subjects.

Doctor.

The most durable and vniversal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

You would haue a lawe made, that no such ware should be brought from beyond the sea, to be sould heere, of such things as could be made heere, as wel as there.

Knight.

Yea forsooth, so would I wishe.

Doctor.

I was once in a parlyament, when such a thyng was moued, but onely for cappes, that none made beyond sea should be sould heere within the realme, and then it was aunswered by a great wise man, that it was to bee feared least it touched the league made betweene the Princes Highnesse, and some forraigne Prince: what thinke you then would haue been said, if yee would haue moued a law to be made of our wooll, our tynne, our led, and hydes, beyond sea, should haue been sould heere.

Knight.

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made with other Prynces.

I cannot tell whether that should touch the league or no, nor whether any such league be: but I say to you that I think it a maruaylous league that shoulde let us to make lawes to binde our owne subjects that might be profitable to them: and if their were any such league I had leauer it were broken then kept, which being broken shoulde doe us good, and being kept should doe us harme, and I suppose that when wee enter any

Doctor.

No league is to be cherished that is not for the Common weale.

league

league the same is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderaunce, wherefore that league would not be esteemed that might hinder our commonweale.

Knight.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the sea, that wares made within this realme should not bee sould there, as they made of late, when wee deuised a lawe that no wyne should bee caried heather in straungers bottomes.

Doctor.

Yet should they be enforced rather to dissolue their law than we ours, for our stufte is necessary for them that is made here, as cloth, leather, biere, tallow, butter, cheefe, pewter vessell &c. Theirs be to us more to serue pleasure then necessity: as tables, cardes, perfumed gloues, glasses, gally pots, dyalls, oranges, pippens, and cherries: yea their chiefe commodities might be better spared of vs, then retayned of them, as wyne, filkes, spices, yron, and salt. I would to God we woulde followe but the example of a poore hauen towne that I heard of it to do of late: here in the marches of Wales, called Carmarthen, when there came a certayne vessell thether out of England all laden with appells, which aforetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne should buy the sayd appells upon a great payne, and so the bote stode so long in the hauen without sale or vent till the appells were putrified and lost. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had stayed his sale and vent, the Bayliffe answered againe, that the sayd vessell came thether to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as fryzes, brode clothes, and wooll: and in steede thereof, hee should leave them in their countrey but appells, that should be spent and wasted in lesse than a weeke. And sayd bring unto us corne or malte as yee were wont to doe, whereof the countrey hath neede, and yee shall be welcome at all times, and yee shall haue free vent

A worthy  
example to  
be followed  
in vling of  
straungers.

vent a  
that th  
Cheste  
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vent and sale thereof in our porte: thinke yee that the cities of London, Southampton, Bristowe, Chester and other moe, might they not learne a good lesson of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they say when shippes full of oranges, pippens, or cherries come in, that if they would again take plumes, damozins, and strawberries for them, they shoulde haue free exchange: and when they bring in glasses, pupplets, rattles, and such like thinges, they should have like trifles for them, if any such were to bee had within this realme, as there bee many, but if they come for our woolles for our clothes, kerseyes, corne, tinne, leede, yea our golde, and siluer, and such substantiall and necessary thinges: let them bringe in againe, flaxe, tarre, oyles, fyshe, and such like. And not to vse them as men doe little children, geue them an appell for the best jewell that they have about them. And thus wee are empouerished of our treasure, and chiefe commodity, and cannot perceauie it, such is the finenesse of straungers wits and the grosenes of ours, yet it were more tolerable if wee did no more but chearishe their deuises that be straungers: but we haue in times past deuised our selues many other wayes, to our owne impoverishment, and to exhaust our treasure. And now I must come to that thyng that you (brother Mercer) touched afore, which I take to be the chiefe cause of all this dearth of thinges (in comparison of former times) and of the manifest impouerishinge of the Realme, and might in short time haue been the destruction of the same, if it had not bene the rather remedied, that is, the basing or rather the corrupting of our coyne, and treasure, whereby we deuised a way for the straungers not only to buy our gold and siluer for brasse, and to exhaust this Realme of treasure: but also to buy our chiefe commodities in maner for nought, yet it was thought this should

Of the coyne,  
what harme  
might haue  
growne of  
the alteration  
of it.



should haue bene a meane not onely to bring our treasure home, but to bring much of theirs: but the experience playnely declared the contrary, so that it were but a very dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

**Knight.**

Forsooth and such a dullerd am I in deede, that I cannot perceave what hinderaunce it should be to the Realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our coyne) seeing the coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, and when it is stricken with the Princes seale to be currant: what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of: yea, though it were but leather, or paper.

**Doctor.**

You say but as most sorte of men doe say, and yet they be farre wide from the truth, as men that do not consider the thinge growndly: for by that reason God would neuer send dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickly remedy it. As if corne were at a crowne a bushell, the Prince might prouide crownes ynough for himselfe and also his subjects made of brasse to pay for the same, and so to make it as easy for him and his subjects to pay a crowne of such mettall for a bushell, as it should be for them now to pay a penny for the same: and as the price of corne doth rise, the Prince might rayse the estimation of his coyne after the rate, and so keepe the coyne always at one estate in deede though in name it shoulde seeme to rise. As for example, suppose wheate this yeare to be at a grot a bushell, and the next yeare at two grotes, the Prince might cause the grote to be called viii. d. and if the bushell rose to xii. d. the bushell, he might rayse the estate of the grote to xii. d. and so whether it were by makinge of coyne of other mettalles then be of price receaued amonge all men, or by enhancing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of estimation, the Prince might if your reason were true, keep alwaies not onely corne, but also all other victaylles and necessities for mans

mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they should vary: but yee may see daily by experience the contrary hereunto, for when God sendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperour nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as wel for their own ease, as for their subjects, and might soone doe it if your reason afore touched might take place: that is, if either they might make coine of what estimation they would, of vile mettalles: or els enhaunse the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what some they would. Yet a man at the first blush would thinke that a Prince in his Realme might doe this easily, and make what coyne he would to be currant and of what estimation it pleased him, but he that so thinketh marketh but the termes, and not the thinges that are understood by them, as if a man made no differaunce betwene vi. grotes that made an ownc of siluer, and xii. grotes that made in all but an ownc of siluer, by the grote of the firste sorte, the sixth parte of an ownc, and by a grote of the other sorte is the twelfth parte of an ownc of siluer vnderstanded, and so there must be as much difference betwene the one grote and the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thinge and the halfe: though either of both be called but under one name, that is a grote, we must consider though gold and siluer be the mettalles commonly wherein the coyne is strycken to bee the tokens for exchange of thinges betwene man and man: yet it is the wares that are necessary for mans vse, that are exchanged in deede, vnder the outward name of the coyne, and it is the raritie and plenty of such wares, that makes the price thereof hier or baser. And because it were very combrous and chargeable to cary so much of the wares that we haue abundance of, to exchange for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and also for

The substance and quantity is esteemed in coyne and not the name.

Aristo. lib. 5.  
Eth.  
That the  
necessity of  
mutual traf-  
fique and  
commodity  
of exchange  
made coyns  
to be devised.

Homm. F.  
de emptione  
& vendica-  
tione. Li. 1.

Why gold  
and silver  
were the  
stuffe most  
meet for  
coine to bee  
stricken in.

that they could not be caried so farre without perishing of the same, nor proporcioned so euen, as they should be always, neither more or lesse brought of our wares, then were equiualent with other wares that we receiue, therefore were the mettals of golde and siluer deuised, as wares of little weight most in value, and least combrous to carie: and least subject to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof, and may be cut and deuided in most pieces and portions, without any losse, to be as the meane in wares to exchange all other wares by. And if the thyng were to be new deuised, necessity would cause vs to deuise the same way againe. For put the case there were no vse of money among us, but onely exchange of wares, for wares: as sometimes I do reade hath ben: we might at a time haue such plenty of thinges in our Realme, as for example of corn, wolles, and felles, cheese, and butter, and such other commodities as were sufficient for vs, and there shoulde remayne with us such great store, that wee could not spend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without perishing, woulde not we be glad to exchange that abundance of thinges, that could not abyde the longe keeping: for such wares that would abyde the keeping, which we might exchange agayne for such wares, as I rehearsed, or any other as necessary: when scarcitie of the same should happen among us? Yea verely we would studie to haue in that exchange such wares as would go in least romth and continue longest without perishing, and be caried to and fro with least charge, and be most currant at all times: and at all places. Is not golde and siluer, the thinges that be most of that sorte: I meane most of value, most light to be caried, longest able to abide the keeping: aptest to receiue any forme, marke, and most currant in all places: and most easelie deuided into many pieces without losse of the stuffe. In some of these poyntes

I con-



I confesse precious stones do excell siluer or yet golde, as in value or lightnesse of carriage, but then they may not bee deuided without perishing of the substaunce, nor put agayne together, after they be ones diuided, nor many of them abyde so many daungers without perishing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or stampe easely, nor be so vniuersally esteemed: therefore they be not so meete for instruments of exchange, as siluer and golde be, or els they for their pieces and lightnesse of cariage might be. And because golde and siluer haue all these commodities in them, they are chosen by common assent of all the world, that is knowen to be of any ciuility, to be instruments of exchange, to measure all things by, most apte to be either caried farre or kept in store, to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance, and to purchase by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue most neede. As for example, if there were no coyne current, but exchange of things as I sayd sometime there was: set this case, that a man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well spend in his house in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee mighte not keepe it so longe, or till a deare or skarce yeare shoulde come, and if he did, much of it shoulde perish or all: were it not wisedome for him then to exchange the ouerplus of that corne, for some other ware that might be longer kept, without daunger of wast, or deminishing, for the which he might at all times haue either corne againe at his neede, or some other necessarie thing? Yeas no doubt, if there were no use of siluer or golde he would haue tinne, brasse, or leadde or such other like thing that would abide the keeping with least detriment, and would desire to haue that thing most, that were in least weight, most in value, and in least daunger of wearing or perishing, and most uni-

Publica  
mensura A-  
risto. Eth.

uerſally receiued, where in golde and ſyluer excellenſes all other mettalles.

Knight.

What makes theſe mettalles to be of more value then other.

Doctör.

No doubt their excellencie aboue other metalles both in pleaſure, and uſe partely the raritie of them.

Knight.

What be theſe qualities? If yee prayſe the golde for his weight or pliablenes, led doth excel it in theſe pointes, if yee commend his colour; ſiluer by many mens iudgementes (whoſe colour reſembleth the day light for his clerenesse) paſſeth him. And herroldes preferres it in armes: becauſe it is furtheſt of ſcene in the ſielde, nor neuer ſeemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer ſo farre of: where al other ſhall ſeeme blacke farre of, and ſo looſe the ſtrengthe of their owne.

Doctör.

As much as the led approacheth the gold in that pointe, I ſpeake of weight and pliablenes, it is caſt behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either paſſeth ſiluer by ſome other mens iudgmentes, becauſe it reſembles the colour of the celeftiall bodies, as the ſunne and ſtarres being the moſt excellent thinges that commeth vnder the view of the bodelie fences of man, or it is equivalent to it: in armes I know not how much it is eſteemed, well I wote Princes blaſe their armes moſt with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the ſame, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of ſo wel, I cannot tel: but now to eſteeme theyr other qualities, golde is neuer waſted nor conſumed by fier: yea, the more it is burned, the more puerer it is; which ye can ſay of none other metalles. Then it weares not leſſe by occupying, it defileth not the thing it toucheth, as ſiluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, which is a declaration that the ſtuffe falleth away, albeit wryters do maruel that it ſhould draw ſo blacke a line, being of that brightnes and colour it ſelfe. Then there is

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Why golde  
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no rust, nor scurfe that deminisheth the goodnes  
or wasteth the substance of gold: it abides the  
freatig, and licours of salt and vinegar without  
damage, which weareth any other thing; it  
needes no fier, ere it be made gold as others re-  
quire, it is golde as soone as it is founde, it is  
drawen without woll as it were woll, it is easely  
spred in leaues of marueilous thinnes: ye may  
adorne or guild any other mettals with it, yea  
stones and timber: it is also nothings inferiour  
in commodity of makyng vessels or other in-  
strumentes to siluer, but rather puerer, cleaner,  
and more sweete to keep any liquor in. Next  
him approacheth siluer in commendations, as in  
cleanes, beauty, sweetnes, and brightnes. And  
it serues not onely to make vessels and other in-  
struments, but it is also sponne, but not without  
wooll, as gold may bee, though they could not  
doe it afore time, but with gold onely, as I haue  
hearde, Church Vestures were made onely of  
gold then, and now of late of this siluer being  
spon with silke and guilte, they counterfeit the  
old excesse of clothe of gold and tyssue. Now  
to speake of other mettals, yee see what uses they  
serue for, whych if these were away, should be  
more esteemed. Then I toulde you the raritye  
commends the sayd mettals of gold and siluer,  
yet more then this: for as they do excel in qua-  
lities, so Dame Nature seemes to haue laied them  
up a further warde, then her other giftes, to  
shew vs that all fayre things be rare, and that the  
fayrest things as they be hardest to be attayned,  
so they be most to be esteemed. If a glasse (as  
Erasmus sayth wel) were as rare as siluer, it  
should be as deare as siluer, and not without  
cause: who could glasse a window with siluer, so  
as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and  
yet neuerthelesse receiue the commodity of the  
light through the same to his house, as with glasse he  
might



might: and so I might commend other things for their vse afore gold or silver, as iron and Steele, with whom yee make better tooles for many necessary vses, then golde or silver, but for the uses that we talke of, silver and golde doe clearly excell all other mettals. I passe ouer that matter: thus haue I shewed some reason why these mettals of gold and silver are growen in estimation aboue other.

Knight.

Why gold  
and silver  
were coyned.

Why doe Kynges and Prynces stricke these mettalles, and other with a coyne, but because they would haue that coyne of what value so euer it be, to beare the estate that the coine pretendeth, which they did in vaine, if they could make the metall that beares that, to be neither better nor worse in estimation? Then I had as lief haue smal gaddes, or plats of silver and gold, without any coyne at al, to go abroade from man to man for exchange.

Doctor.

Plini, lib.  
33, Cap. 3.

Sometime  
brasse, silver  
and gold  
were weigh-  
ed before  
coyne made.

Inst. de test.  
ord. §. 1.

Surely the time was so (euen among the Romanes, when neither brasse, silver nor golde was coined:) but were esteemed only by the weight. And thereof to this day remaineth these vocables of coynes, as *Libra*, *Pondo*, *Dispondius*, as *Solidus*, *Denarius*, Wordes of weightes, that afterward were geuen to coynes pretending the same weights. Also the common officers, that waighed these rude mettals were called *Libri pendes*, whereof we haue mencione made in the Ciuil Lawe: but because in great trafficque and assembly of buyers, and such, it was tedious to tary for the weighing these mettals and trying, it was thought goode that the Princes should strike those mettals with seuerall markes, for the variety of the weights they were of to assure the Receiuer, the same to be no lesse then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they strake the pound weight with the marke of the pound, and the ounce with the  
mark

mark of the ounce, and so after the variety of  
 the weights of other pieces variable markes:  
 whereby began the names of coynes, so that the  
 people needed not to be troubled with the weigh-  
 ing and tryinge of euery piece, being assured by  
 the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece con-  
 tained the weight that was signified by the  
 marke set on euery one: the Prynces credite  
 was then then such amonge their subiects as they  
 doubted nothing therein. As soone as they at-  
 tempted to doe otherwise, that is, to marke the  
 halfe pound with the marke of the pound, and  
 the halfe ounce with the marke of the ounce, a  
 while their credite made those coines currant,  
 as I read among the Romaines practized more  
 then once, but assoone as it was espied, the two  
 pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then the  
 one piece of a whole pound went before. And  
 at length, as much as they wonne at the first,  
 they lost at the last in payment of their rentes,  
 customes, and duties. (And so the neerer east,  
 the further from the west.) And they consequen-  
 tly lost their credite, much like as I haue knowne  
 certen townes in England to haue done which  
 were wonte to make their clothes of a certayne  
 bredth and length, and to set their seales to the  
 same, while they kept the rate truly, straungers  
 did but looke on the seale, and receaue their  
 ware, whereby these townes had great vent of  
 their clothes, and consequently prospered very  
 well. Afterward some in those townes not con-  
 tented with reasonable gaynes continuall, and de-  
 siring more. Deuised clothes of lesse length,  
 bredth, and goodnesse then they were wont to  
 bee, and yet by the commendacion of the seale  
 to haue as much money for the same as they had  
 before for good clothes, and for a time they  
 gat much, and so abased the credite of their pre-  
 decessors to their singuler lucker, which was re-  
 compenced

What losse  
 commeth of  
 credence.

compenced with the losse of their posterity. For after these clothes were founde faulty, for all their seales, they were not onely neuer the better trusted, but much lesse for their seale: yea, though their clothes were well made; for when their vnto truth and falshood was espied, then no man would buy their clothes, till they were ensearched and unfoulded, regarding nothing the seale: and yet because they founde them vnto true in some parte, they mistrusted them in other: and so would geue lesse for those clothes then for any other like hauing no seales to the same, whereby the credite of the said townes was lost, and the townes vtterly decaied. Did yee not see, that our coyne was discredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King Henry the Eight, specially among straungers, which euer before desired to serue vs afore all other nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our coyne. And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities, as wool, felles, tallow, butter, cheese, tin, and ledde, and where before time, they were wont to bring vs for the same, either good golde or siluer, or els as necessary commodities agayne, then they sent us either such trifles, as I spake of before: as glasses, gally pots, tennice balles, papers, gyrdles, brouches, buttons, dyalls, and such light ware, that standeth them in no charge or use, or els (if it be true that I haue heard) and as I tolde you in your eare before, they sent us brasse for our treasure of golde and siluer, and for our sayd commodities, I warrant you yee saw no golde nor siluer brought ouer vnto vs, as it was before vsed, and no maruayle: to what purpose should they bring siluer or gold thither, whereas the same was not esteemed? Therefore I haue heard say for a truth, and I beleue it the rather to bee true, because it is likely, that after our coyne was based and altered: straungers counter-

What do  
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couterfayted our coyne, and found the meanes to haue great masses of that transported hether, and here vttered it wel for our olde golde and siluer, as also for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme, if it were suffered in a small compasse of time.

There be Searchers that might let that matter Knight well ynough, if they be true, both for staying of such false coine to come in, and of our olde coyne to goe forth.

I sayd so to the man that tolde mee the same tale that I tolde you euen now. And he aunswered me, there were many wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer so true, as by putting of the sayde coyne in their shippes balast, or in some vesselles of wyne, or other lyquor, transported either vnto us or from vs: then euery creake in thys Realme hath not Searchers: And if they had, they bee not such faintes as would not be corrupted for money. Besides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, specially of golde, should not be currant here aboue such a price: was not that the rediest way to dryue a way our golde from us? Euery thing will go where it is most esteemed, and therefore our treasure went ouer in heapes.

I beleue well, that these were meanes to exhaust the old treasure from us, which yee haue reiected: but how it should make euery thing so deare, among our selues since that tyme (as yee sayd it doth) I cannot yet perceauie the reason.

Why? Doe yee not perceiue, that by reason hereof, wee payed dearer presently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the sea, then we were wont to doe before.

That cannot be denyed.

By howe much thinke you?

By the thirde parte well in all maner of thinges.

K

Must

Knight.

Doctor.

How our olde coyne may be transported, and the Prince or her officers not knowing of it.

We devise the rediest way to drue away our treasure.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Must not they that buy deare sell deare agayne theyr wares ?

Knight.

That is true, if they intend to thriue : for he that selleth good cheape, and buyeth deare, shall neuer thriue.

Doctor.

Why  
things  
within the  
Realme  
should be so  
deare.

Yee haue your selfe declared the reason why things within the Realme proued after that time so deare : for we must buy deare all things bought from beyond the sea, and therefore wee must sell agayne as deare our thinges, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our selues. And though that reason maketh it plaine, yet the experience of the thing maketh it playner : for where yee say that euery thinge bought beyond the sea, is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was : doe yee not see the same proportion reised in our wares, if it be not more ?

Knight.

What losse haue wee by this, when wee sell our commodities as deare as we buy others.

Doctor.

I graunt to one sorte of men, I accompt it no losse, yea to some other a gaine more then any losse, and yet to some other sorte a greater losse then it is profit to the other, yea generally to the vitter empouering of the realme, and weaking of the Queenes Maiestie's power exceedingly.

Knight.

I pray you what be those sortes that ye meane. And first of those that ye thinke should haue no losse hereby.

Doctor.

I meane all these that liues by buying and selling, for as they buy deare they sell thereafter.

Knight.

What is the next sorte that ye say would win by it ?

Doctor.  
Some had  
gaynes by  
by the al-  
teration of  
the coyne.

Mary all such as haue takings or fearmes in their owne manurance at the olde rent ; for wher they pay after the olde rate, they sell after the newe, that is, they pay for theyr land good cheape, and sell all things growing thereof deare.

Knight.

What sorte is that which yee sayde should haue greater losse hereby, then these men had profit.

It

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen and all other Doctor.  
that lyue either by a stented rent or stypend, or  
do not mannure the ground, or doe occupye no  
buying or selling.

I pray you peruse these sortes as ye did the Knight.  
other, one by one, and by course.

I will gladly, first the Noblemen and Gentle- Doctor.  
men liue for the most parte on the yerely reuenues Who had  
of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prince. losse by the  
Then ye know he that may spende now by such re- alteration of  
uenues and fees CCC.li. a yere may not keepe no coyne.  
better port then his father, or any other before  
him, that could spend but nigh CC.li. and so ye  
may perceiue, it is a great abatement of a mans  
countenance to take away the thirde parte of his  
liuing, and therefore Gentlemen do study so much  
the increase of theyr landes and enhaunsing of their  
rentes, and to take fearmes and pastures to their  
owne handes as yee see they doe, and all to seeke  
to mainteine their countenaunces as their predeces-  
sors did, and yet they came shorte therein. Some  
other seeing the charges of household encrease so  
much, as by no prouision they can make, it can  
be holpen: geue ouer theyr householdes and get  
them chambers in London or aboute the courte,  
and there spende their time some of them with a  
seruaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thir-  
ty or forty persons daily in his house, and to doe  
good in the countrey, in keeping good order and  
rule among his neighbors. The other sorte be even  
seruingmen, and men of warre that hauing but  
their olde stented wages, cannot finde themselves  
therewith: as they might afore time, without ra-  
uin or spoile. As ye know xii. d. a day now will  
not go so far as viii pence would afore time. And  
therefore yee haue men so euill willing to serue the  
Prince now a dayies from that they were wont to  
bee. Also where xl. shillinges a yere was honest  
wages for a yeoman afore this time, and xx. pence



a weeke borde wages was sufficient: now double as much will skante beare their charge.

Knight.

That is longe of their excesse, aswell in apparell as in fare, for now a dayes seruimgmen go more costely in apparell, and look to fare more deintely then their masters were wont to do in times past:

Doctor.  
Of excesse  
in apparell  
and fare.

No doubt that is one great cause of the greater charge of household. For I know when a seruimg man was content to go in a Kendal coate in sommer, and a frise cote in winter; and with a plaine white hose made meete for his body: and with a piece of biese or some other dishe of sodde meate all the weeke longe: now he will looke to haue at the least for sommer a coat of the finest cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his hosen of the finest kersey, and that of some straunge die, as Flaunders die or French puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates shal be garded cut and stitched, and the breeches of their hose so drawen with filke, that the workmanshippe wall far passe the price of the stufte: and this thing is not restrained as it should be, but rather cherished of the Maisters, one struing with the other, who may bee most proude and whose retinue may go most lauish and gay for a time of shoue, whereas through such excesse they are fayne all the rest of the yere to keepe the fewer seruantes. And so in excesse of meates they fare at some times in the yeare, that in the whole yeare after they keepe either no houses at all, or if they do it shall be very small: like excesse as well in apparell as in fare were used in Rome a little before the declination of the Empyre, so as wise men haue thought it was occasion of the decay thereof. And therefore Cato and diuerse wise senatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for restrainte of such excesse, and for that through the insolence of some, that maintained the contrary, the same were not duly executed, much pride ensued there: and of pride diuision: and through

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deuision vtter desolation of the Commonweale. I pray God this Realme may beware by that Example, specially London the head of this Empire, where such excesses (by reason the wealth almost of al this Realme is heaped there vp, as the corne of a field into a barne) be most vsed: for in other parties commonly of thys Realme, the law of necessitie keepes men in good case for exceeding either in apparel or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went simply, and our Seruingmen plainely, without cuts or gards bearing theyr heavy swordes and buckelers on their thighes insted of cuts and gardes, and light daunsing swordes: and when they rode carying good speares in their hands instede of white rods, which they cary now more like Ladies or Gentlewomen, then Men, all which delicacies maketh our Men cleane effeminate and without strength.

We may thanke our longe peace and quiet <sup>Knight.</sup> within the Realm that men be not forced to ride so strong. It was a troblous world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do speake.

What can you tell, what time or how sone such <sup>Doctor.</sup> a worlde may come againe, wise men do say, that in peace men most looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be <sup>In peace loke for warre.</sup> alwaies sure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. But sith it is otherwise, and that the iniquitie of men is such, as they cannot bee longe withoute warre; and that wee reckon here in England our chiefe strength to be in our seruingmen and yeomen, it were wisdom to exercise them in tyme of peace somewhat with such apparell, fare and hardenes, as they must needes sustayne in time of warre, then the same shal be no nouelty to them when they come to it: and their bodies shal be stronge and harder to beare that, that they were somewhat accustomed withall afore. Let this  
that

that I ſay, be of no credite : if delicacy and tenderneſſe was not the moſt occaſion of the ſubduing of the greateſt Empires that were.

**Knight.**

Surely ye ſay very well and that which ſoundeth to good reaſon. I muſt needes allowe that I haue found true myſelf, for my men are ſo tenderly uſed in time of peace, that they cannot away with any heauy armour in time of warre, but either ſhirts of maile or coates of linnen ragges, which at a ſhotte may perhaps deceiue us. Then what ſaye you by our buildinges that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, farre more exceſſiue then at any time heretofore. Doth not that impouerish the Realme and cauſe men to keepe leſſe houſes.

**Doctor.**

I ſay that all theſe thinges be tokens of ornamentes of peace, and that no doubt is cauſe of leſſe houſholdes: ſith the buildings and trimming of thoſe houſes ſpendes away that, that ſhould be otherwiſe ſpent in houſhold. But it doth not empouerish the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildinges, for the moſt part is ſpent amonges ourſelues and amonges our neighbours and countrey men.

**Of exceſſe in  
buyldings.**

As amonges Carpenters, Maſons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or peinting of theſe Houſes. For in that much treaſure may be ſpent, and to no uſe. Alſo the areſes, verderers, and tapiftry workes wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conueith ouer into Flaunders and other ſtraunge countreyes (where they be had from) much of our treaſure.

**Knight.**

Syr, yet I muſt remember you of one thing more, which men do ſuppoſe to be a great occaſion of the ſpending of that treaſure abroad: and it is, where there is comen to the Crowne of late yeares much lands by reaſon of monaſteries, colleges and chauntres diſſolued, which men ſuppoſe hath been the cauſe two maner of waies, that there is leſſe treaſure abroad in the Realme. One is becauſe the reuenues of the ſayd places diſſolued heretofore, were ſpent in the countrey and went from

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from hand to hande there, for vittaille, cloth and other thinges : and now are gone to one place out of the countrey. Another is that diuers men which had any ryches or wealth vttered the same, to buy peruelles of the said dissolued lands lying commodious for them, whereby one way and other the whole riches of the countrey is swept away.

Truth it is also, that it wringed the countrey Doctor. abroad for the time, and had kept it so still if the Kinges Maiesty had not dispersed the same lands abroad among them in the countrey againe, but after that his Highnes departed with a great deale of those possessions, part by gift and part by sale : treasure hath and will encrease againe abroad, as much as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes : so that I take that to be no great cause of the dearth that we haue, for the soile is not taken away, but the possession thereof is onely transferred from one kinde of persons to another.

Then to retourne to the matter of the coine Knight. where wee leste. I haue heard your conceipt how the alteration thereof within our Realme did some men no harme, as buyers and sellers : some other it did good vnto, as Farmors that had lande at the olde rent : and some other as Gentlemen, men of warre, seruants, and all other liuing by any rated or stented rent or stipend, were great losers by it : But I heard you say it was so much withal to the losse of the Prince, that it might be to the great peril of the whole Realme in proceffe of time. I meruayle howe it should be so, for I heard wise men say, that the Queenes Highnesse Father did winne inestimable great summes, by the alteration of the coyne.

So it was for the time, but I liken that gaynes Doctor. to such as men haue when they sell away their landes, to haue the greater some at one time, and euer after to lose the continual increase that should grow How the alteration of the coynes should be most losse to the Prince.

grow thereof: for you knowe all the treasure of this Realme, must once in few yeares come to the Princes handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it should goe abroad againe to the subiects. As all springes runneth to the ocean sea, and out of it are they spred abroad agayne: then as they came into the Kings coffers at the first in good mettall, they came forth in such as you haue heretofore seene. And albeit it seemeth at the first view to empouerishe but the subiects onely: at length impoueriseth also the Prince: and then if the Prince should want in time of warre, specially sufficient treasure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklings of shippes, gunnes, and other artillary necessary for the warre, and could by no meanes haue of the subiects wherewith to buy the same, what case should the Realme be in? Surely in very euill, and therefore these coynes and treasure bee not without cause called of wise men, *nervi bellorum* (that is to say) the synowes of warre. And that is the greatest daunger that I doe consider, should growe for want of treasure to the Prince and the Realme, for though a Prince may haue what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the straungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themselues, altogether without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuise what coyne wee would: but since we must haue neede of other and they of vs, wee must frame our things not after our owne phantasies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde, and wee may not set the price of things at our pleasure, but follow the price of the vniuersall market of the world, I graunt also that brasse hath bene coyned ere this, yea and leather in some places. But euer I reade that that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eschewed as longe as possible may be:

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And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust (as it hapened in the later yeares of King Henry the eight) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then that deprauing of our coynes, which serueth the Prince but a litle while, for some present shifte, and hindred him a long time afterwarde. I am perswaded that within our Realme treasure might bee soone recouered by these two meanes: first if we forbad the bringing in and selling of so many trifles as I before rehersed to be brought vs from beyond the sea, and that nothing made beyond the sea of our owne commodities should be sould heere. And secondly, if we forbad that none of our commodities should passe vnwrought ouer sea, which being wrought here and sould ouer should bring in infinite treasure in shorte time.

Mary and there yee bee contrary to the opinions Knight; of many a great wise man, which think it better that all our wool were sould ouer sea vnwrought, then any clothiers should be set a worke withall, within this realme.

That were a straunge thinge in mine opinion, Doctor. that any man should think so, and what should mooue them to be of that opinion I pray you.

I will tell you. They take it that all insur- Knight. rections and vprores for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothiers: For when clothiers lack vent ouer sea, then is a great multitude of these clothiers idle. And when they be idle, then they assemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing, and so picke one quarrell or other to stirre the poore commons that bee as idle as they, to a commotion: And sometimes by occasion of warres there muste needes bee some stay of clothes, so as they cannot haue alwayes like sale or vent: at euery which time if the said clothiers should take occasion of commotion, they think it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all,

Whether all  
our wooll  
were expedi-  
ent to be  
sould ouer  
unwrought.

L



Doctor.

and consequently that the wooll were uttered unwrought ouer sea, then to haue it wrought here.

So it may seeme to them that considers one inconuenience, and not another. Surely whosoever hath many persons vnder his gouernance, shall haue much adoe to gouerne them in quietnes, and he that hath a greate familye shal haue somtimes trouble in the ruling of them. It were but a meane pollicye eyther for a Prince to deminish hys Number, or for a Maister of a house to put away his seruants, because he would not haue any trouble with the gouernance of them: he that would so do, might be well resembled to a man that should sell his land because he wold not be troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete that we did not onely encrease the feate of clothing, but also intend diuers other mo feats and occupations, whereby our people myght be set a worke, rather then take away any occupation from them, specially such as clothyng is, that sets so many thousandes a worke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupied in Venice, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond sea, they rewarde and chearish euery man that brings in any new arte, or mistery, whereby the people might be set a worke, with such thinges as shoulde both finde their workemen, and also bring some treasure or other commodity into the countrey. And shall we contrarywise labour to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thing els might bring vs treasure from strange parties, or wherewith shoulde so many of our people be set a worke, as haue nowe their lyuings by clothing, if that occupacion were layde downe?

Mysteries  
are to be in-  
creased ra-  
ther than di-  
minished.

Knight.

Mary we might haue treasure ynough from outward parties for our woollens, though nonne were wrought within the Realme: and as for an occupation to set our clothiers a worke, they might bee set to the plough and husbandry, and that should make

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make husbandry to be the more occupied, and grasing lesse, when all these people that nowe doe occupy clothing, should fall to husbandry.

As to the first that yee sayd that wooll is sufficient to bring in treasure: if it were (as it is not in deede) yet that feate were not for the weale, nor for continuance of the Realme. For when euery man would fall to breede sheepe and to increase wooll, and so at length all other occupations should bee set aside, and breedinge of sheepe onely occupied, then yee knowe that a few Sheepe maisters would serue for a whole shyre: and so in proceffe of time the multitude of the subiects should be worne away, and none leste but a fewe Shepherds, which were no number sufficient to serue the Prince at need, or to defend this Realme from enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that these clothiers should fall from that occupation to husbandry: how coulde so many added to them that occupy husbandry already, get their lyuinge by the same, when they that bee husbandmen nowe, haue but a small lyuinge thereby. And if yee woulde say to mee that they shoulde haue at all times, free vent and full sale of their corne ouer sea, then cometh the same inconuenience in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For some yeres it should happen either for warres or by reason of plenty in all parties beyond the sea, that they should haue no vent of their corne, and then be dryuen to be idle, and consequently for lacke of living to assemble together, and make like vprores as ye spake of before.

They haue in Fraunce more handy craftes occupied and a greater multitude of artificers, then wee haue here by a great deale, and for all that they haue made many greate sturres and commocions there before this: yet they will not destroy artificers, for they know that the highest Princes of them all, without such artificers could not main-

teine their estate. Doth not all theyr toules, customes, taxes, tallages, and subsidies chiefly growe by such artificers? What King can mainteine his estate with his yearely reuenues onely growing of his landes : For as many seruauents in a house well set a worke, gaine euery man somewhat to their maister : So doth euery artificer in a Realme ech gaine somewhat, and altogether a great masse to the King and his Realm euery yeare it bringeth.

Knight.

Three sortes  
of artificers.

One bring-  
eth out our  
treasure.

Another  
spend that  
they get in  
the same  
countrey  
agayne.

The third  
sort bring in  
treasure, and  
therefore  
must be che-  
rished.

And now because we are entred into communication of artificers, I will make this diuision of them. Some of them do but conuey money out of the countrey : some other that which they get, they do spend againe in the countrey. And the third sorte of artificers is of them that doe bring in treasure into the countrey. Of the first sort I reckon all mercers, grocers, vintners, haberdashers, milleners, and such as do sell wares growing beyond the sea, and do fetch out our treasure for the same, which kinde of artificers as I reckon them tollerable, yet not so necessary in a Commonweale, but they be best spared of all other. Yet if we had not other artificers to bringe in as much treasure as they doe carry forth, we should be greates loosers by them. Of the second sorte bee these shoemakers, tailours, carpenters, masons, tylers, bouchers, brewers, bakers, and vittailers of all sortes, which like as they get their liuing in the countrey, so they spend it : but they bring in no treasure vnto us. Therefore we must chearish well the third sort. And those be clothiers, tanners, cappers, and worstedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their misteries and faculties) do bring in any treasure. As for our wolles, felles, tinne, ledde, butter and cheefe, these be commodities that the ground beares requyring the industrie of a fewe persons, and if wee shoulde onely trust to such and deuyse nothing els to occupy ourselues with, a few persons wold serue for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it would finde : and so should

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should our Realme be but like a grange better furnished with beastes then with men, whereby it mighte be subiecte to the spoile of other nations, aboute whych is the more to bee feared and eschued: because the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to brynge forth such thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for such thinges as be for the nourishment of men. If Pomponius Mela be to be beleueed, which descrybing thys Ilande sayeth thus: *Plana, ingens, & ferax: sed eorum que pecora, quam homines benignius alant*: that is to say, it is playne, large, and plentiful: but of these thinges that nourisheth beastes more kindly then men. So many forestes, chases, parkes, marshes, and waste groundes being more here, then most commonly elsewhere, declare the same not to be all in vayne, that he affrmes. It hath not so much erable grounde, vynes, olyues, fruites, and such as bee both most necessary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, so they finde most persons foode, as Fraunce and diuerse other countries haue. Therefore as much ground as is here apte for these things would be tourned as much as may be to such vses as may find mooste persons. And ouer that townes and cities would be replenished with all kinde of artificers, not onely clothyers, which is as it were our natural occupation, but with cappers, glouers, paper-makers, glasiars, paynters, goldefsmithes, blackesmithes of al sortes, couerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners and such other, so as we should not onely haue inough of such thinges to serue our Realme and saue an infynite treasure, that goeth now ouer for many of the same: but also might spare of such things ready wrought to be sold ouer, whereby we should fetch againe other necessary commodities or treasure, and this shoulde both replenish the Realme of People able to defende it, and also saue and win much treasure to the same.

Such

Pomp. Me.

Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreyes that be elſe baren of themſelues.

Myſterie: do  
enrich coun-  
tries that be  
els barren.

And what riches they brynge to the countries where they be well uſed. The countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare, where through ſuch occupations it hath ſo many, and eke ſo wealthy cities, that it were almoſt incredible ſo litle grounde to ſuſtaine ſo much people. Wherefore in my minde they are far wide of right conſideration, that would haue either none or elſe leſſe clothing within this Realme, becauſe it is ſome time occaſion of buſines and tumults, which cometh for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way ſo commodious or neceſſary for mans uſe, but it is ſometimes by ill handling occaſion of ſome diſpleaſure, no not fier and water that be ſo neceſſary as nothing can be more.

Knight.

Yea Maiſter Doctour we ſtand not in like caſe as Fraunce or Flaunders that yee ſpeake of: if they haue not vente one way, they may haue it another way alwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one neyghbour, they will be friendes with another to whoſe countreyes they may ſend their commodities to ſell.

Doctour.

So may we bee, if we were ſo wyſe, to keepe one friende or other alwayes in hand. Who will be ſo mad being a priuate man, but he will bee ſure to doe ſo. Let wiſe men conſider what friendes this Realme hath had in time paſt. And if they bee now loſt or intercepted another way ſince, let vs purchaſe other for them: or elſe geue as litle occaſion of breach with our neyghbours as may bee. The wiſe man as I remember, ſayth in Eccleſiaſtes, *Non eſt bonum homini eſſe ſolum.*

Aliaunce with  
ſtraungers  
are to be  
purchaſed  
and kept.

Knight.

Whether  
great Ar-  
mies be as  
neceſſary  
heere as in  
Fraunce.

Alſo in Fraunce they haue diuerſe bandes of men in armes, in diuerſe places of the Realme, to reſpreſſe ſuch tumults quickly if any ſhould ariſe. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee bouldre to haue as many artificers as they haue.

God

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God sworbote that euer we should haue any Husband,  
such tyranntes come among vs : for as they say,  
such will in the countrey of Fraunce take poore  
mens hennes, chickens, pigges, and other provi-  
sion, and pay nothinge for it, except it bee an ill  
turne, as to rauishe hys wyfe, or hys daughters  
for it : and euen in like manner sayd the Mar-  
chaunt man adding thereto, that hee thought that  
would rather bee an occasion of commocions to  
bee stirred then to be quenched. For (as hee sayd) Marchaunt,  
the stomacks of Englishemen would neuer beare,  
to suffer such iniuries, and reproches, as hee hearde  
that such vsed to doe to the subiects of Fraunce,  
which in reproche they call Pesaunts.

Mary the Prynce might restrayne them well Knight.  
ynough, for doing outrages vpon great paynes.

What if it were skant in his power to do ? the Doctor.  
Romaines had sometimes such men of armes in  
diuerse places for defence of the empyre, it was  
thought that at length it ouerthrewe the same.  
Julius Cæsar doth that declare : and many times  
after that when the Emperors died, the men of  
warre erected what Emperor they lysted, some-  
time of a slaue or a bondman contrary to the elec-  
tion of the Senate of Rome, being chiefe coun-  
saylors of the Empyre, till the whole Empyre was  
cleane destroyed : it is not for commotions of sub-  
iects, that Fraunce also keepeth such : but the  
state and necessity of the countrey which is inui-  
roned about with enemies, and neither sea nor  
wall betwene them, against whose inrodes and in-  
uasion they mayntayne those men of warre of ne-  
cessity. They would faine lay them downe, if  
they durst for feare of their neighbours. And  
some wyse men among them haue sayd and writ-  
ten, that the same men of armes may bee the de-  
struction of their Kingdome at length. And be-  
side that the largenesse of our dominion or situation  
of the same towarde other countreyes, doth not  
require such men, nor yet the reuenewes of this  
Realme



Realme is able to make vp the like number with Fraunce. And then if we ſhould make a leſſe number, wee ſhould declare ourſelues inferiour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted ſuperior in ſucceſſes, through the ſtoutneſſe of our Engliſhe hearts. And therefore I would not haue a ſmall ſore cured by a greater griefe, nor for auoydinge of populer ſedicion, which happeneth very ſeldome and ſoone quenched, to bring in a continual yoake and charge both to the Prince and the people.

A leſſe griefe  
would not be  
holpen with  
a great ſore.

**Knight.**

You ſay well, and ſo as I can ſay no more againſt your ſentence, but yet I would wiſhe your ſaying could ſatiſſie other men as well as it doth mee.

**Doctor.**

Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

**Knight.**

I could be content to be troubled longer of that ſorte.

**Marchaunt  
and Capper.**

And ſo coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of yourſelfe gentle Maiſter Doctor.

**Knight.**

Yet the moſt neceſſary pointe which we ſpake of is yet behinde, that is, how theſe thinges may be remedied: And therefore wee will not goe from you till we haue hearde your advice herein.

**Doctor.**

A Gods name, I will ſhewe my phantaſie in that part: But let us firſt go to ſupper. And ſo wee went together to our ſupper, where our hoſte had prepared honeſtly for us.

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## The Third DIALOGUE;

*Wherein are deuised some remedies for the same griefes.*

**A**FTER wee had well refreshed our selues <sup>Knight.</sup> at supper, I thought long till I had knowne the iudgment of Mayster Doctor, about the remedies of the thinges aboue remembred, how he thought they might bee best redressed, and with least daunger or alteration of things. (And therefore I sayd unto him thus:) Since yee haue declared unto vs (good Maister Doctor) our diseases and also the occasions thereof, we pray you leaue vs not destitute of conuenient remedies for the same. You haue perswaded vs full, and wee perceauē it well our selues, that we are not now in so good state as we haue bene in times past. And you haue shewed vs probable occasions that hath brought vs to that case, therefore now we pray you shewe unto us, what mighte remedye these our griefes.

When a man doth perceauē his griefe, and the <sup>Doctor.</sup> occasion also of the same, hee is in a good way of amendment. For knowing the occasion of the griefe, a man may soone auidoē the same occasion: and that being auoyded, the griefe is also taken away. For as the phylosopher sayth: *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.* But let us briefly recount the griefes, and then the occasions thereof, and thirdly goe to the inquisition of the remedies for the same: first this Vniuersal Dearth, in comparison of the former age, is the chiefeſt griefe that all men complaines most on. Secondly, Inclosures, and turning of erable grounde to pasture. Thirdly Decayinge of townes, towneshippes, and villages, and last, Division and Diuerſitie of Opinions in Religion. The occasions or causes of these, although I haue before diuersly declared

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The originall  
cauſe in euery  
thing is to  
be ſearched.

after the diuerſity of mens mindes and opinions. Yet here I wyll take out of the ſame, but onely ſuch as I thinke verely to be the very juſt occaſions in deede. For as I ſhewed you before, diuers men diuerſly iudge, this or that to be the cauſe or occaſion of this or that griefe, and becauſe there may bee diuers cauſes of one thinge, and yet but one principall cauſe that bryngeth forth the thinge to paſſe: Let vs ſeeke oute the cauſe, omitting all the meane cauſes, which are driuen forward by the leaſt originall cauſe, as in a preſſe going in at a ſtraight, the formoſt is driuen by him that is nexte hym, and the next by him that followes him, and the third by ſome violent and ſtronger thing that dryues him forward, which is the firſt and pryncipall cauſe of the putting forward of the reſt afore him. If he were kept backe and ſtaied, al they that goe afore would ſtay withal. To make this more plain unto you: as in a clocke there be many wheelles, yet the firſt wheele being ſturred it dryueth the next, and that the thyrde &c. till the laſt that moues the inſtrument that ſtrickes the clocke: ſo in making of an houſe, there is the maiſter that would haue the houſe made, there is the carpenter, and there is the ſtuſſe to make the houſe with al: that ſtuſſe neuer ſtirres till the workeman do ſet it forward, the workeman neuer trauailes but as the maiſter prouoketh him with good wages, and ſo he is the principall cauſe of this houſe making. And this cauſe is of the learned called efficient, as that that bringeth the principall thing to effect. Perſwade this man to let this building alone, and the houſe ſhall neuer come to paſſe, yet the houſe can not bee made without the ſtuſſe, and workemen, and therefore they be called of ſome *cauſe ſine quibus non*, and of ſome other *materiales*, & *formales*, but all cometh to one purpoſe. It is the efficient cauſe, that is, the principall cauſe, without remouing of which cauſe, the thing that

cannot



cannot be remedied. And because that it was  
grafted in euery mans iudgment, that the cause of  
any thing being taken away, the effecte is taken  
away with all. Therefore men tooke the causes  
of these thinges that we talke of wythoute iudge-  
ment, not discerning the principall cause from the  
meane causes, that by taking away of these causes  
that bee but secundary as it were, they were ne-  
uer the neare to remedy the thinge they went  
about, much like the wife of Ajax that lost her  
husband in the shippe called Argos, wished that  
those firre beames had neuer bene felled in Pelei-  
us wood, whereof the sayd shippe was made, when  
that was not the efficient cause of the loosing her  
husband, but the wyld fyre cast in the said shippe,  
which did set it a fyre. Such causes as they be,  
he called remote, as it were to farre of: so they  
bee also idle and of no operation of them selues,  
without sume other to set them a worke, and per-  
case I (while I degresse so farre from my matter)  
shal be thought to go as far from the purpose,  
yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys,  
that I haue saide to the same, some thinkes this  
dearthe beginnes by the tenaunt in selling his  
wares so deare, and some other by the lord in  
reyfing his land so high. And some by these  
inclosures. And some other by the reyfing of our  
coin or alteration of the same. Therefore some  
by taking some one of these things away (as their  
opinion serued them to be the pryncipall cause of  
this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth. But  
as the tryall of the thing shewed they touched not  
the cause efficient pryncipall, and therefore theyr  
deuise toke no place, and if they had, the thinge  
had bene remedied forthwith, for that is proper  
to the principall cause that as soone as it is taken  
away the effect is removed also. Yet I confesse  
all these things rayseth together with this dearth,  
that euery of them should seeme to be the cause  
of it, neuerthelesse that is no good prooffe that  
they

Diverse sorts  
of causes  
there bee.

Cic. top.  
Li. 5.

Sublata cau-  
sa tollitur  
effectus.

How one  
thing is cause  
of another,  
and that of  
the third,

they should bee the causes of it, no more then was the steeple made at Douer, the cause of the decay of the haven of Douer, because the haven began to decay the same time, that the steeple began to be builded: nor yet, though some of these be cause of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient causes of this dearth. But as I have said before of men thrusting one another in a thronge one dryving another, and but one first of all, that was the chiefe cause of that force: So in this matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the originall cause of these causes, that be as it were secondary and makes them to be the causes of other, as I take the reising of all prises of victuals at the husbandmans hand, is cause of the reysing of the rent of his land. And that gentlemen fall so much to take fearmes to theyr hands least they bee driuen to buy theyr prouision to deare, that is a great cause againe that inclosure is the more vsed: for gentlemen hauynge much land in their hand and not being able to weild all and see it manured in husbandry, which requyreth the industry laboure and governaunce of a greate many of persons, doe conuert mosse of that lande to pastures, wherein is requyred both lesse charge of persons, and of the which nevertheless commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges vpon another, and sets forward one another, but one fyrst of all is the chiefe cause of all this circular motion and impulsion. I shewed ere while, that the chiefe cause was not in the Husbandman, nor yet in the Gentleman. Let us see whether it were in the Marchaunt man. It appeares by reason that all wares bought of him are dearer now fare then they were wont to be, the Husbandman is dryuen to sell his commodities dearer: now that the matter is brought to maister Marchaunt, how can ye auoyd the cause from being in you.

Sir

Sir  
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Sir, easly ynough, for as wee sell nowe dearer all things then we were wont to do. So wee buy dearer all thinges of straungers: and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we disburden our selues of this fault. Marchaunt.

And they be not here to make aunswere, if they were, I would aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe. Doctor.

Mary and to that I hearde many of them aunswere er this (when they were asked that question) two maner of wayes. One was they felled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do: saying for prooffe thereof, that they woulde take for their commodities, as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll they would gieue asmuch wine, spice or silke as they were wont to geue for so much. Yea for an ounce of our siluer or golde, as much stuffe as euer was geuen for the same: and their other aunswere was that if we reckened they did sell their wares dearer because they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the same then they were wont to do, that was not their fault they saide but oures, that made our pieces lesse or lesse worth then they were in tymes past. Therefore they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their wares, saying, they caried not what names wee woulde gieue our coynes, they would consider the quantitie and right value of it, that they were esteemed at, euery where through the World. The straungers aunswere touching this dearth.

Then I would haue answered them there of this sort. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it the matter to them, what quantity or value our coyne were. If so they might haue as much of our commodities for the same as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our siluer and golde, it was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they should haue any from vs. Wherefore I would thinke that

was



Doctor.

was no cause why they should sell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

Then he might haue aunswered againe, that it chaunfed not all wayes together, that when they had wares whych we wanted, we had againe al those wares that they looked for. And therefore they hauinge percase more ware necessarie for us, then we had of such wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of us such stufte currant in most places, as might buy that they looked for elsewhere at their pleasure: and that they will say was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting ouer sea any gold or siluer, they passed not thereof, so they mighte haue the same ones conveyed them. As they had many waies to haue it so, which I haue before remembred. Finally, hee might say, that wee had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selues, that by the name they pretended, but esteemed both the value and quantity of the stufte it was made of. For if they had brought vn to us halfe an ownc of siluer, wee would not take it for an ounce: nor if they brought us brasfe mingled with siluer, wee would not take it for pure siluer, and if we would not take it so at theyr handes, why shoulde they take it otherwise at ours. Then they saw no man heere but would rather haue a cup of siluer then of brasfe, no not the maister of our mints, though they would otherwise perswade the one to be as good as the other. Wherefore seeing vs esteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beside, why should they not esteeme our coine after the quantity and value of the substance thereof, both after the rate it was esteemed among vs, and also euery other where. And so as in moe pieces now there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in substance that they were wont to demaund for their wares.

wares. Now let us see, whether now goeth the cause of this matter? From the straungers; for methinkes he hath reasonably excused himselfe, and put it from him.

By your tale it must bee in the coine, and consequently in the Kynge's Highnes, by whose commaundement the same was altered. Knight.

Yea percase it goes further yet, yea to such as were the first counsaillours of that deede, pretending it should bee to his Highnes great and notable commodity, which if his Grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momentain profit, and continuall losse both to his Highnes, and also hys whole Realme. He with his people might haue ben easily reuoked again, from the practise of that simple deuise: but as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a medicine that he thinkes good, though it proue otherwise, is not much to be blamed: no more was the Kinges Maiesty in any wyse, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed to haue intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditie to him selfe and his subiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing succeeded beside the purpose. Doctor.

Then ye thinke plainly that this alteration of the coyne was the chiefe and principall cause of this vniuersall dearth. Knight.

Yea no doubt, and of many of the sayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes, it being the the orygynall of all, and that beside the reason of the thing, being playne inough of it self: also experience and prooffe doth make it more playne. For euen with the alteration of the coyne began this dearth, and as the coyne appayred, so rose the prices of thinges with all: and this to be true, the few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained, did testefie: for ye should haue for any of the same coyne as much of any ware either outward or inward as ever was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made lesse, there goeth

Doctor.  
That the alteration of the coyne was the very cause of this dearth, and consequently of other griefs ever since that time.

goeth more number to make up the tale, and because this reised not together at all mens handes, therefore some hath greate losses and some other greate gaines thereby, and that made such a generall grudge for the thinge at the fyrst tyme. And thus to conclude, I thinke this alteration of the coine to haue ben the first originall cause, that straungers sould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all farmors and tenaunts, that reared any commodity againe, to sell the same dearer. The dearth thereof made the gentlemen to rayse their rents, and to take farmes to their handes for their better prouision, and consequently to inclose more groundes.

Knight.

If this were the chiefeft cause of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you maister Doctor) heere tofore alleaged, it should seeme to be: how cometh it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be remoued, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not back to their olde rate, whereas now long sithence our English coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princeffe, which now rayghneth) hath bene againe throughly restored to his former purity and perfection.

Doctor.

In deede, sir, I must needes confesse unto you (although it may seeme at the first sighte to discredite my former sayings in some parte) that notwithstanding that our coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thinges, which I before affirmed to haue proceeded of the decay thereof, to remayne and continewe still among us. Wherefore as your doubt heerein moued very aptly, and to the purpose, is well worthy the consideration: so does I accoumpt it of such difficulty, that perhaps it would not be thought to stand with modesty, to vndertake, without farther study, presently to dissolue the same.

Knight.

Doctor.

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the plead-  
ing



inge of modesty. I vnderstand well ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of sufficient store (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withal, in greater matters (if neede were) then these.

Well, I am content (because you will haue it <sup>Doctor.</sup> so) to yeelde to your importunity. I will viter franckly vnto you myne opinion heerein, but vnder protestation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne phantasies, and iudgementes in the same: I finde therefore two speciall causes in myne opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding the restitution made in our coine, the aforesaid dearth of thinges in respect of the former age remayneth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the baseness of our coyne in the time of King Henry the Eight, the prices of all thinges generally among al sorts of people, rose: it must needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen which liued onely upon the reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof, then any other of what order or estate so euer. This therefore being taken as most true, the gentlemen desirouse to mayntaine their former credite in bearing out the porte of their predecessors, were driuen of necessity as often as whensoever any leases deuised for terme of yeares, by themselues or their auncestors were throughly expired, and fel into their hands, not to let them out againe for the most part, but as the rentes of them were farre racked beyonde the olde: yea this racking and hoyssinge vp of rentes hath continued euer since the time vntill this present day: hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before, and so continueth unto this day, to sell his victailes dearer, and to continue

the dearth of them : and likewise other artificers withall to maintaine the like proportion in their wares, wherefore as this dearth at the first time (as I said before) sprang of the alteration of the coyne, as of his first and chiefeft efficient cause : so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto, and so forward, partly to the racked and stretched rentes which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, and so are like to continue I know not how long. Now if we would in these our dayes, haue the olde pennyworthes generally restored among vs a gayne. The restoring of our good coine, which already is past, and before the improued rentes would only of it selfe haue ben sufficient to haue brought this matter to passe, will not serue in these our dayes, except with all the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which possibly cannot be without the common consent of our landmen throughout the whole Realme. Another reason I conceiue in this matter to be the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes, then euer our forefathers haue sene in times past. Who doth not understand of the infinite fumes of gold and siluer, which are gathered from the Indies, and other countries, and so yearly transported unto these coastes? As this is otherwise most certain, so doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all auncient men liuing in these daies. It is their constant report, that in times past, and within the memory of man, he hath been accounted a rich and wealthy man, and wel able to keep house among his neighbors, which all things discharged, was clearly worth xxx. or xl. l. but in these our dayes the man of the estimation is so far in the common opinion from a good hous-keeper, or man of wealth, that he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore these ii. reasons seem-  
ed

ed vnto me to contain in them sufficient probability for causes of the continuance of this generall dearth.

Yea, but (Sir) if the increase of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth: then by likelihood in other our neighbors nations, vnto whom yearly is conuayghed great store of gold and siluer, the pryses of victayles, and other wares in like sorte, are rayfed according to the increase of their treasure? Knight.

It is euen so, and therefore to vtter freely myne opinion (as I account it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherfed to reuoke, or call backe agayne all our Englishe wares vnto their old prices: so doe I not take it to be either profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straungers, and theirs on the other side deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impouerishing of the Commonweale, in a very short time. Doctor.

Now that you haue so well touched the occasion of this derth, and what is to be hoped or wished of the same so fully, that I am well satisfied withall. I pray you shewe me the remedies of this great inclosiers, whereof all the Realme complaineth of so much, and hath complained long upon. For you haue well perswaded how it is a meane of great desolation of this Realme, and that is longe of the great profit that men haue by pasture, ouer that they haue by tillage that they turne so much to pasture. Now I would fayne heare how it might be remedied againe: for I haue hearde this matter of long time, and often reasoned vpon aswell in Parliament, as in Counsayles, and yet small remedy found therefore that tooke effect. Knight.

If I then, after so many wise heades as were in those Parliaments and Counsailes, would take Doctor.



vpon me to correct (as they say) *Magnificat*, and to finde a remedy for this thinge, which they could neuer doe. I might be reckeped very arrogant.

Knight.

Yet tell your phantasie therein ; for though you misse of the right meane to reforme that, it shall be no more shame for you to doe so, then it was for so many wise men as yee speake of to misse.

Doctor.

You say truth, and since I speake nothing in this part, that I would haue taken as it were for a law, or determined thing, but as a certayn motion for other wise men to consider, and to admit or reiect, as to their better reason shall seeme good : therefore as yee haue boldned me already with your patience to say thus farre, I will not spare to declare my minde in this. But still I must keepe my ground, that I spake of that is to try out the effectual cause of this inclosures, and then by taking away of the cause to redresse the thinge.

Knight.

I pray you doe so, for to me it seemes very reasonable, that ye say and agreeable to that I heard a good Phisition tell me ones, when I was sicke of an ague: when I asked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough already: saying, hee had more neede to geue me thinges that should make me stronger. Then he answered me, that choler was the cause of my sickenes, and that hee gaue those purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cause of my disease ones taken away, the sickenes should be riide from me withall. And therefore I pray you vse your accustomed order in this matter, and tel the cause of these inclosures.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

Doctor.

I shewed you before in our communication in the garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partely the remedy of the same.

So

So did other men among vs tell their fantasie as <sup>Knight.</sup>  
 n, but nowe, we pray you tell which of al  
 se causes ye take for the necessary and efficient  
 se of this matter.

To tell you plaine it is auarice that I take for <sup>Doctor.</sup>  
 e principal cause thereof, but can we deuise that  
 couetousnes can be taken from men. No, no <sup>How In-</sup>  
 ore than we can make men to be without <sup>closters may</sup>  
 alth, without gladnes, without feare, and <sup>be remedied.</sup>  
 withoute all affections: what then? we must  
 ke away from men the occasion of their cove-  
 usness, in this part, what is that? the exceeding  
 ker that they see grow by these inclosures more  
 en by their husbandry. And that may be done <sup>Omnes sunt</sup>  
 y any of these two meanes that I will tell you. <sup>lucri cupidi.</sup>  
 ither by the minishing the luker that men haue  
 y grasing: or els by aduaunfing of the profit of  
 husbandry, til it be as good, and as profitable to  
 te occupiers as grasing is, for euery man (as  
 Plato saith) is naturally couetous of luker. And  
 hat wherein they see most luker, they wil most  
 gladly exercise: I shewed you before, that there  
 s more luker by grasing of x. acres to the occu-  
 pier alone, then is in the tillage of xx. And the  
 causes thereof be many, one is that grasing requires,  
 small charge and small labor, which in tillage  
 consumes much of the mens gains, though it be  
 true that the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines  
 gnerally amongs the maister and all his mainy  
 then the grasing of xx. acres. Another great  
 cause is, that whatsoeuer thing is rered vpon  
 grasing, hath free vente both ouer this side, and  
 also beyond the sea to be sold at the highest penny.  
 It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for  
 it requires both great charge of seruants and of  
 labor. And also if any good cheape be of corne,  
 it paieth scant for the charge of the tillage. And  
 then if the market do arise either within the  
 Realme, or without, the poore husband shal be  
 so restrained from sellyng his corn, that he neuer  
 after

after ſhal haue any ioy to ſet his plough in the ground whych maketh euery man forſake tillage and fall to graſing, which bringeth all theſe incloſures.

Knight.

Now what remedy for that.

Doctor.

Mary as for the firſt poynt, that is touching the vnequal charges of tillage and graſing, that cannot be holpen in al pointes, by reaſon the nature of both reapes the contrarye. Therefore the Latine tongue calles the one, that is paſture *pratium*, that is aſmuch to ſay as, *paratum*, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the husbandman mighte haue aſmuch liberty at all times to ſell his corne either within the Realme, or without, as the graſiers hath to ſell hys, which would make the husbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough. And other ſeeing them thrive would turn theyr paſture to tyllage. And though it enhaunſe the market for the time, yet would it cauſe much more tillage to be vſed and conſequently more corne, within time of plentye within this Realme, might bring in much treaſure. And in time of ſcarſity would ſuffice for the Realme as ſhewed you before. And this with laker they ſhould bee entyſed to occupy the plough, yea and with other priuileges. I haue red that in this Realme ſometime there was ſuch a lawe as a man that had treſpaſſed the law of miſadventure mought haue taken the plough tayle for his ſainctuary. Alſo the occupation was had ſo honourable amonge the Romaines, that one was taken from holding the plough to bee Conſull in Rome, who after his yeare ended thought no ſcorne to reſort to the ſame feate againe. What occupation is ſo neceſſary or ſo profitable for mans life as this is. Or what miſtery is ſo void of al craft as the ſame is, and how little is it regarded: yea how much it is deſpiſed: that many in theſe dayes reputes them but as villains, peſaunts, or ſlaues, by whom the proudeſt of them haue their liuings. So that I

Pratum  
quasi para-  
tum.

maruaile



maruaile much there is any (seeing such a vility and contempt of the thing) will occupy the feat of husbandry at all: For as honour nourisheth al sciences, dishonor must needs decay them. And therefore if ye wil haue husbandry encreased ye must honor and cherish it, that is to let them haue honest gaires thereby, and since that gaires shal come to your countrey why should you bee offended therewith. Another way is to abate the commodity of grasing, as when any tax is requisite to be granted to the Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture as much as two of erable. Or els to burden wolles and fells, and such things as are reared by grasing that passe to the partes beyond the sea vnwrouth, with double charge ouer any corn transported, and so by encreasing the profite of tyllage, and abasing of the profit of grasing, I doubte not but husbandrye would be more occupied and grasing much lesse. And thereby these inclosures to be broken vp. Also there is one thing of old time ordeined in this Realme which being kept vnaltered would helpe therunto also, that is where men are entercommuniuers in the common fields, and also haue their porcions so entermedled one with another, that though they wold they could not enclose any part of the said fields so long as it is so. But of late diuers men finding greater profite by grasing then by husbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy theyr neighbors partes round aboute them. Or els to exchange with them so many acres in this place, for so many in another: whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and so inclose it, for the auoiding whereof I thinke verely, that it was so of olde time ordeined, that euery tenant had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes so as here should bee three acres, and then his neighbor should haue as many, and ouer that he other three or iiij. and so after the like rate be the moste partes

partes of the copyholdes that I do know in the countrey, which I thinke good were still so continued for auoyding of the sayd enclosures, and the farre as to that matter.

Marchaunt.

Of townes decayed.

Now that ye haue well declared your opinion in these matters of the common dearth and enclosures, I pray you tell vs your mynde what should be the occasion of the decay of the good townes of this Realme, and of all bridges, highwayes and hospitalles, and how the same may be remedied and releued againe. For that these husbandmen and dwellers of the country, finde not a great lacke in the fieldes abroad, but citizens and burgeses fynde as much within theyr wallles.

Doctor.

Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phantasie in all these things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, the good occupations heretofore vsed in the sayd townes, was occasion of theyr wealth in times past, and the laying down of those occupations againe is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore if such occupations may be reuyved againe in the same, they would recouer their former wealth againe.

Marchaunt.

I beleue that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of these townes, but what I pray you, was the occasion of such decay of the occupations.

Doctor.

The occasion of the decay of our townes.

I will tell you while men were contented with such as were made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our townes and cities well set a worke, as I knew the time when men were contented with cappes, hattes, gyrdels, and poyntes, and all manner of garments made in the townes next adioyning, whereby the townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stuffe remayned in the countrey. Now, the poorest youngeman in the countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle or lether poyntes, knyues, or daggers made nigh home. And specially no Gentleman can be content

tente to haue either cappe, cote, doublet, hose,  
or shyрте in his countrey, but they must haue this  
geare come from London and yet many thinges  
hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea:  
whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle  
and the occupations in London, and specially of  
the townes beyond the seas, are well set a worke  
euen vpon our costs. Therefore I would wish  
some stay were deuised for comming of so many  
trifles from beyond the sea, and specially of such  
thinges as might be made here amonge our selues.  
Or els might be either all spared or els lesse vsed  
among vs, as these drynking and looking glasses,  
paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, knives,  
pinnes, pointes, aglets, buttons, and a thousande  
other thinges of like fort. As for silkes, wines,  
and spice, if there came lesse ouer, it made no  
matter. But specially I would that nothing made  
of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne,  
such be brought from beyond the sea to be solde  
here: but that all those should be wrought with  
in this Realme: were it not better for vs that our  
owne people were set a worke with such thynges  
then straungers. I am sure xx. thousand persons  
might be set a worke within this Realme, that are  
set a worke beyond sea with those thinges that now  
be made beyond the sea, and might be made  
here: (mighte not the Prince bee glad of any ayde,  
whereby he might finde x. M. persons through the  
whole yeare, and burden his treasures with neuer  
a penny thereof?) I think these things might be  
wrought here not onely sufficient to set so many a  
worke and serue the Realme, but also to serue  
other parts, as all kinde of cloth, and kersey:  
worstedes, couerlets, and carpets of tapestry: caps,  
knit sleues, hosen, peticotes, and hattes: then  
paper both white and browne, parchment, velam,  
and all kinde of leather ware, as gloues, poyntes,  
gyrdles, skins for jerkins: and of tinne all manner  
of vessel, and also all kinde of glasses, and earthen



pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables, and cheſſes, ſince we will needes haue ſuch things. And daggers, kniues, hammers, ſawes, cheſſels, axes, and ſuch things made of yron might not wee bee aſhamed to take all theſe things at ſtraungers handes, and ſet ſuch a multitude of their people a worke as I ſpake of now, whoſe finding and wages we doe beare now. Where all this profit might bee ſaued within the Realme, where it ſhould not goe from vs, but returne to vs agayne from whence it came, and in ſettinge vp of theſe occupations, I woulde haue them moſt preferred and cheriſhed, that bringeth moſt commodity and treaſure into the country, as yee muſt conſider three ſortes of occupations: one that carrieth out the treaſure, the ſecond ſorte, that as it carrieth none forth of the country, ſo it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it ſpendeth in the country, the third bringeth in treaſure to the country. Of the firſt ſorte are Vintners, Milleners, Haberdashers, theſe Galley men, Mercers, Fuſtian ſellers, Grocers, and Pothecaries that ſelleth vs any wares made beyond the ſea, for they doe but exhaust the treaſure of the Realme. Of the ſecond ſorte are Vyctaylers, Inholders, Bouchers, Bakers, Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpenters, Joyners, Maſons, Blackeſmythes, Turners, and Hoopers, which like as they conuey no money out of the country, ſo they bryng none in. But where as they get it they ſpend it. Of the thyrd ſort bee theſe, Clothiers, Cappers, Worſtedmakers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can now reckon, that brings into the Realme any treaſure. Therefore theſe artes are to bee cheariſhed, whereas they be vſed, and where they bee not they would be ſet vp, and alſo other ſciences mo, as making of Glaſſes, making of Swerdes, Daggers, Kniues, and al tooles of Iron and Steele, alſo making of Pinnes, Poynts, Laces, Thred, and all manner of Paper, and

That arte is  
to be moſt  
cheariſhed in  
a towne that  
bringes moſt  
to the town.

and Parchment. I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew Threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in maner onely, and now our thredde comes all from beyonde sea. Wherefore that Trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise. So Bristow had a great trade by making of pointes, and was the chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne, and albeyt these be but two of the lightest faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chiefly maintained by these two faculties aboue rehearsed. I heard say in Venice (that moſte flourishing citie at these daies of al Europe) if they may here of any cunning craftesman in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citie, for it is a wonder to see what a deale of money one good occupyer doth brynge into a towne, though he himself doth not gaine to his owne commoditie but a poore lyuing. As for example, what money one worstedmaker brynges into the towne where he dwelles, and how many hath lyuings vnder him, and what wealth he bryngs to the towne where he dwels, truly I cannot sufficiently declare, for by a few worstedmakers that some townes haue they are growen to great wealth and ryches. So of clothyng and capping. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell them oute, as I haue knowen good workemen as well smythes and weauers haue comen from straunge parties to some cityes within this Realme entending to set up theyr craftes, and because they were not free there (but specially because they were better workemen then was any in the towne) they could not be suffered to worke there. Such incorporations had those misteries in those townes that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compoude with the first.

And do you think it reasonable that a straunger <sup>Capper.</sup> should bee as free in a city or towne, as they that

Townes are  
enriched  
with some  
one trade.

Doflor.

were prentifes there : then no man would bee prentice to any occupation if it were fo.

I fayd not that they fhall haue commonly lyke libertye or fraunchife, but as one crafte makes but one perticuler companie of a towne or city, fo I would haue the weale of the whole city rather regarded, then the commodity or fraunchife of one crafte or miftery : for though commonly none fhould be admitted there to worke, but fuch as are free, yet when a finguler good workeman in any miftery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enffructe them of the towne being of the fame faculty, and alfo bringe into the towne much commodity befide. I would in that cafe haue priuate liberties and priuileges geue place to a publique weale, and fuch a man gladly admitted for hys excellency to the freedome of the fame towne, wythoute burdenyng of hym wyth any charge for his fyrft entry or fetting vp. Yea where a towne is decayed and lackes artificers to furnifh the towne with fuch craftes, as were other fometymes exercifed well there or might bee, by reason of the fuation and commodity of the fame towne, I woulde haue fuch craftesmen allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to thofe townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyr freedome, yea theyr houfe rente free, or fome ftocke lent them, of the common ftocke of fuch townes, and when the towne is well furnifhed of fuch artificers, then to ftay the comming in of foreners, but whyle the towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers, it were no policy for the reftauration of the towne to keepe of any ftraung artificers ; for the moft parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftesmen of all fortes, but fpecially by thofe that make any wares to fell out of the countrey, and brynges therefore treafure into the fame. As Clothiers, Cappers, Worftedmakers, Hatmakers, Poyntmakers, Pinners, Painters, Founders, Smythes of all fortes, Cutlers, Glouers,



Glouers, Tanners, Parchment makers, Gyrdlers, Pourfers, makers of Paper, Thredmakers, Turners, Basketmakers, and many other such. As for the Mercers, and Haberdashers, Vinteners, and Grocers, I cannot see what they doe to a towne, but synde a liuinge to v. or vi. housholdes, and insteade thereof empouerish ten times as many, but since men will needes haue filkes, wine, and spice, it is as good that men do spend theyr money vpon such in their owne towne, as to be dryuen to seeke the same further, as for the rest of the artificers, like as I said before euen as they take no money out of the countrey so they brynge none in, as Taylours, Shoomakers, Carpenters, Joyners, Tylers, Masons, Bouchers, Vittailers, and such like. Also an other thinge I reckon would helpe much to relieue oure townes decayed, if they would take order that al the wares made there, should haue a speciall marke, and that marke to be set to none but to such as be truely wrought, and also that euery artificer dwelling out of al townes (such as cannot for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners and Clothiers) should bee limited to bee vnder the correction of one good towne or other, and they to sell no ware but such as are fyrst approued and sealed by the towne that they are lymitted unto. And by these two meanes, that is to say, fyrste by staying of wares brought beyond sea, which might bee wrought within vs, from comming in to be sold. Secondly, by restraining of our wolles, tinne, felles, and other commodities from passing ouer vnwroughte. And thirdly by brynging in (under the correction of good towns) artificers dwelling in the countreies: making wares to be sole outward, and those wares to be viewed and sealed by the towne seale before they shoulde bee solde. I woulde thynke oure townes myght bee soone restored to theyr auneynt wealth or far bettered if they would follow this.

Now

Knight.

Now we pray you go to the last matter ye spoke of how these diuersitie of opynions may be taken away, which troubles the people very sore, and makes greate sedition and deuision amonge them, and in maner makes debate betwene neighbour and neighbour, the father and hys son, the man and his wyfe, whych is yet more to bee feared, then all other the foresayd losses of worldly goods. For if wee were neuer so poore, and did neuerthelesse agree amonges ourselues, wee should lycke ourselues hoale againe in short space.

Doctor.

Concordia  
quæ res cres-  
cunt discor-  
dia maximè  
et labuntur.

Yee say truth, with concord weake thinges doe encrease and waxe big. And contrarywise, with discorde strong things waxe weake. And it must needes be true that truth itselfe sayth. Every Kingdome deuided in it selfe shalbee desolate. Wherefore I cannot forbear to shew you my poore opinion, how so great a mischiefe as this is, may bee auoyded out of this our Commonweale: and still I will vse one trade, as in seeking out the oryginal cause, and by takinge away of that, to shewe the remedye. I take the chiefe cause here-of aswel the sinnes of them that be the ministers of Christs holy word and misteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And firste of ours that haue swarued altogether, from their due course order and profession to all kinde of liberality, not onely to the basenes of laymen, but far inferiour to them in pryde, couetousnes, and such. Wherefore yee laymen seeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs vnworthye to bee your leaders and pastors, or to whose doctryne yee shoulde gieue credence, whom yee see in lyuing far discrepant from the same. And therefore ye take vpon you the iudgment of spirituall thinges, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer another after him, for so long as the ministers of the church were of those maners and conuersation agreeable with theyr doctryne. So

long

long all men, yea the greatest Prynces of the worlde and the wyfest men were content to beleue our doctrine, and to obey vs in things concerning the soul: and since we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of credit, and the holy doctrine of Christ suffered flaunder by our sinful liuing. So we haue gieuē the fyrste occasion of this euil, and yee haue taken it as an instrument to worke this scysme withal. And though both do euil therein, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this mischyef, which I take to bee in the ministers and pastors spirituall. And to be playne with you, and no more to dissemble oure owne faultes, then I haue done yours, except wee reforme ourselues fyrst, I can haue no greate trust to see this generall scysme and deuision in religion viterly taken away: it may percase, wyth authority be for a time appeased, but neuer so as it spryngē not vp againe, except we reforme oureselues fyrst.

The occasion of the scysme in matters of religion.

Mary and I thinke yee haue bene wel disciplined and corrected already, so as yee had good cause to bee reformed as by taking much of your possessions from you, and in burdening of your benefices with subsidies, as well annual as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee haue more. Knight.

Yea no doubtē wee haue had beating inoughe if that woulde haue serued, but some maisters with little beating will teach theyr schollers better, then other wyth more strypes can do, and agayne some schollers will be reformed with lesse beating then other. So you and we do now, you in beating inough but litle teaching, and wee agayne litle regardyng the strypes do learne as litle. For notwithstanding these punishmentes that we haue had, the reproaches and reuylinge and opening of our faultes, see how many of vs haue reformed our selues, yea so much as in our outwarde duties, whereunto we are both bound by Gods lawe, and cur

Doct.



our canons, lawes, and decrees: how many more of vs haue resorted to our benefices to be resident thereon, which not onely by the sayd lawes, but also vpon greate penalties wee are bounde unto by the lawes of this Realme. How many lesse now then before haue studied to heape benefice upon benefice, when wee bee scante able to discharge one of them, what better tryall or examination is there nowe in admyting of ministers of the church? What more exacte searche is made by our Bishops, for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of soules? What better execution of our canons and decrees doth our Bishoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their visitations now, then they did before? Yea what better hospitality, residence or ministration eyther of the word or of their other duties do our Prelates and Bishops now then they did before? doe they not lurk in theyr mansions & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and scant ones a yeare wil see their principal church, where they ought to be continually resident? be they not in a manner as unmeete for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all these plagues that God sendes to them, but they are so blynded that they cannot see wherefore they be thus punished, and construe it to be for other causes, as by the covetousness of lay men in desiringe their possessions, by a hatred conceived agaynste them for not obteyning their purpose at men of the Churches hand. Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of the Church, or such other causes as they imagine with themselues. And thinke that the indignation against them shortly will slacke of it selfe: But I pray God it doe not rather encrease, as I feare me it wil, except we amend vs the rather. How can men be content to pay the tenth of theyr goods which they get with theyr sore labour and sweate of theyr browes, when they cannot haue for it againe neither ghostly comforte  
nor

nor bodely : what layman wil be any thing scrupelus to keepe those tythes in his owne handes, when hee sees vs do nothing more then he for it : What credite wyll any man geue to our doctrine, whom they see so lighte in lyuing, what reuerence will they geue our personnes in whose manners, they see no grauity. But to passe from these matters to others. There be most godly ordinaunces made by our lawes by authority of counsailes generally, that all Archdeacons should visite in person yeaerly theyr precinctes. The Bishop euery three yeres to see the whole Diocesse what is to be reformed either pryuatly or generally, that priuate faults might be reformed forthwith, and the generall at the next Synode, and therefore they haue theyr procurations. Visite they doe not in person as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is surely gathered but the cause wherefore it was geuen nothing kepthe: the stipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndone. Then is there another good ordenaunce, and godly absolued after the like sort: where euery Bishop should yerely keepe a synode in his dioces of all euangelical persons, and euery Archbishop a sinod for his whole prouince, euery third yere that if any thing occurred in the diocese worthy reformation it might be referred to the provinciall congregation. If it were either doubtful to the Bishop or could not be reformed without greater Authority then the Bishoppes alone. Where bee these sinodes now kepthe? yet they receiue euery yere their sinodals of the poore priests : of such good ordenance and godly there is nothing kept, but that which is there owne private commodity, which be that procurations and sinodals: the other part wherefore that charge was laid is omitted, the burden remaineth and the duty is taken away, yet better it were that both the one and the other were taken  
P away,

away, then to haue the good parte taken and the worſe to remayne. If they will ſay, that there needeth now a daies no ſuch viſitation, nor ſynods, then there needed neuer none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed among vs, were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer more neceſſary. But our prelats would ſay they dare make no lawes in ſuch ſinodes for fear of penury, what neede any mo lawes made then they haue already? what ſhould let them to put theſe in execution that be already made? ſpecially ſins they haue the aide of the temporal lawes thereto, is there not ſtatutes made in parliament for reſidence, and for reſtrayning of pluralitie of benefices? which had neuer neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes in execution. Are not we worthy to haue other men to correſte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our ſelues? Is it maruaile that wee bee not out of credence when our life and conuerſation is contrary to our owne lawes and profeſſion, and that the religion of them ſuffereth ſlaunder offence and reproache, through our defaultes ſhall be ones required of our hands. Therefore if we wil haue this ſciſme taken away from Chriſts church, let vs firſt reforme our ſelues and put our lawes in execution, as in reſorting to our benefices to keepe reſydence, and in contentyng our ſelues wyth one benefice a peece: And wyth the lyuinge that is appointed to us for our miniſtration without deuiling of other extraordinary and unlawful gaines. For what is more agreeable wyth reaſon, then a man to ſpende his tyme where he hath his lyuing and to do his office, for that he hath the benefit of: And ſeeing euery benefice is a mans liuing, and if it be not it might be amended till it be a competent liuing, and euery one requireth one mans whole charge. What reaſon is it that one man ſhould haue two mens liuinges and two mens charge, where he is able to diſcharge but one. Then to haue

Propter officium datur beneficium,



haue moe and discharge the cure of neuer a one is to farre agaynst reason. But some per case will say, there be some of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, and one benefice were to litle for such a one. Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices, as there is in mens qualities? Yes forsooth there is: yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of fundry values to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fall let euery man be contented therewith till a better fall. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leaue the first and take the better, for the meanest benefice is a sufficient living for some man, which should be destitute of a living, if that benefice and other like should be heaped vp together in great mens hands. Yea I doe knowe, that men which haue such meane benefices be more commonly resident, and keepe better hospitality on the same, then they that haue 'greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe. *Its meary in Hall: When Beardes wags all.* Nowe looke throughe a whole diocesse, you shall not finde xx. persons resident that may dispend xl. l. a piece, nor of al the benefices in a diocesse, the fourth person resident ouer the same. What temperal office is so far abused as these be that be spirituall and of a greater charge: I pray God send our Prelats eyes to see these enormities: for it shoulde seeme that they are so blinded that they cannot see them. And then I doubt not but all delayes set a part they will reforme them: and if they do not, I pray God send our Maiestrats temperall the minde to reforme these thinges with their secular power. And to study for the reformation of them, rather then for theyr possessions, Christian Princes beare not their swords in vayne: nor yet is it so straunge a thing to see Christian Princes reforme the prelates that swarue from their dueties. Thus far

Cicero de  
offi. lib. 1.

The faultes  
in the part of  
the laytye.

beit ſpoken touching the reformation of them that be myniſters of the Church. Now to ſpeake of that is to be reformed of our parte that be of the laytye, yee muſt vnderſtand, that al that geue themſelues to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly ſubiect to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke Tully doth report) the one is to take theſe things that we know not for things known, or as though we knewe them: for a voyding of which fault men ought to take both good ſpace and great diligence in conſideration of things, ere they come to geue judgment of the ſame: the other vice to beſtowe too great a ſtudy and labour about obſcure and hard things nothing neceſſary. Let us now conſider and thoſe faults be not among you at theſe dayes, yee be all now ſtudious to know the vnderſtanding of holy Scripture. And well for there can be no better deſire, more honeſt, nor more neceſſary for any Chriſtian man: but yet doe yee not ſee many younge men before they haue either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the conſideration or ſtudy of Scripture, take vpon them to iudge of high matters being in controuerſie, geeuing to quicke aſſent either to their owne inuention, or to other mens: before they haue conſidered what might be ſaid to the contrary. And this fault is not onely ſeene in men ſtudious of the knowledge of ſcripture, but alſo in younge ſtudents of all other ſciences: ſhall yee not find a ſtudent in the lawe of the Realme, after he hath bene at the ſtudy of the lawe not paſt iii yeares, more ready to aſſoyle you a doubtful cauſe of the lawe, then either he himſelf or another, after that he hath ſtudied the law xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea no doubt, ſo it is in a young Grammarian, Logitian, Rethoritian, and ſo of al other ſciences. Therefore Pythagoras forbade his ſchollers to ſpeake the firſt v. yeares that they came to him, which leſſon I would to God yee would be content to obſerue, before yee  
gaue

gaue any iudgment in matters of holy Scripture. And then I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, yee would by collation of one place with another of Scripture, finde a greater difficulty therein, then yee doe now, and be more scrupulous to geue an aunswere in high things then yee be nowe: and this harme commeth of rashe iudgment in that part, that when a man hath once vttered his opinion in any thing, he will thinke it a great shame for him to be brought from that he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore what so euer he readeth after he construeth for the mayntenance of his opinion, yea and wil force that side not only with his words and perswasions, but also with that powre and authority that he hath, and will labour to bring other to the same opinion as many as he can, as though his opinion shoulde bee the more true, the moe fauourers that he may get of the same. By such meanes if we seeke but for the truth, that is not to be iudged to be alwaies on the best side that getteth the ouer hand by power, authority, or suffrages extorted: it is not like in the disceptacion, and inquisition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wrestling: for he that hath the ouer hand in these thinges hath the victory, and in the other hee that is sometimes put to scilence, or otherwise vanquished in the fighte of the worlde, hath the victory and conquest of truth, on his side. Since we contend but for the knowledge of the truth what should wee detide our selues into factions and parties: but let the matter be quietly discuffed, tryed, and examined, by men to whom the iudgment of such thinges appertayneth. And prouide in the meane time that neyther party doe vse any violence agayne the other, to bring them by force to this or that side, vntil the whole or most part of them to whom the discuscion of such things appertayneth vnto, doe freely consent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to descide such con-

As Constantine the great, did in the time of Alius.



controuerfies, and ſince this contention muſt once haue an ende: it were better take an end be times then too late, when percaſe more harme ſhall haue enſued of this dangerous ſciſme, as hath already done in other parties even before our eyes. And in like things hath before this time been ſeene, of ſuch ſort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred: what loſſe of Chriſtian men? what diminifhing of the Chriſtian faith? what continually warres, hath the faction of the Arrians bene the occaſion of? did it not ſeperate and ſever at length all Asia, and Affricke from the Chriſtian fayth? Is not the religion, or rather the wicked ſuperſtition of the Turke graſſed ouer this Arrian ſect? did it not take his foundation thereof? as there is no dyuiſion more daungerous, then that which groweth of matters in religion: ſo it were moſt expedient and neceſſary to be quickly remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counſel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Appoſtles who firſt tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appeaſe all controuerfies in religion. And no doubt the Holy Ghoſt as his promiſe is, wil be private in euery ſuch aſſembly, that is gathered together by no force or labor of any effectiō. But now we will ſay, though we would for our partes ſet aſide partiality, and be indifferent and uſe no coercion to get numbers and voyces that ſhould fauour our partes, who can promiſe that the Biſhoppe of Rome and other prelates would doe the ſame. Surely if yee did ſay ſo, yee ſayd a great matter, for they be men and much more ſubject to affections then yee be. But I ſhal be bould after my manner to tel my minde herēin aſwell as in other things, I take all theſe matters that be now a days in controuerſie to be of one of theſe ſortes, that is either touching the profits and emoluments of the prelates and miniſters of the Church, or touching pointes of religion.

As

How this  
ſciſme might  
be remedied.

As touching those articles that concern religion, I would wishe that they had onely the discuscion thereof, which ought and haue vsed alwayes to haue the iudgment of the same, and as touching the articles that concerne the profits of ecclesiastical persons, I would haue these left to the discuscion of seculer powers, because it concerneth seculer thinges only, where no man neede mistrust, but that the maiestrates will prouide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that serueth so honorable a rounge as the ministration of God's holy Word and his Sacraments. Farthermore I would wishe in thinges touching the Byshop of Rome, and his iurisdiction, that he should be set a part and some other indifferent persons chosen, by Christian Princes to direct or be Presidentes in the Counsayle while his matter is in handlinge, (if it please Christian Princes to holde a Counsayle with that Whore of Babylon) for no man is meete to be a Judge in his own cause: here I haue but briefly touched the summes of things after my simple phantasie, referringe the alowing or reiecting of all or some of them to your better iudgement.

The Bishop  
of Rome is  
no indiffe-  
rent man.

I am sorry that it is so late, that we must needes depart now.

Knight.

And so bee wee in good fayth: but wee trust ere you departe the towne to haue some communication wyth you agayne.

Marchaunt.  
Husband  
and Capper.

I will bee glad if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I shall remayne here beyond too morrow morning, which if I do (in any thing that my simple iudgement will reach vnto) you shall heare my farther opinion, in the meane time I pray you so to thinke of mee as of one, that if I haue spoken any thing which may bee preiudiciall to the Commonweale any way, I am ready to revoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any other man, that can shew how

Doctor.

how all these griefes, or the more part of them may bee remedied by any other better meanes, for I know of many a thowfande in this lande, I may worst speake in such a wayghty matter. And so heere for this present I take my leaue of you all.

*Knight.*

And thus wee departed for that time: but on the morrowe when I knewe maister Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication should bee lost, but remembred at the least in mine owne priuate booke, to the intent as oportunitie should serue, I might brynge forth some of his reasons in places where they might eyther take place, or be aunswered otherwise then I could. And therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte as you see.

*F I N I S.*



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